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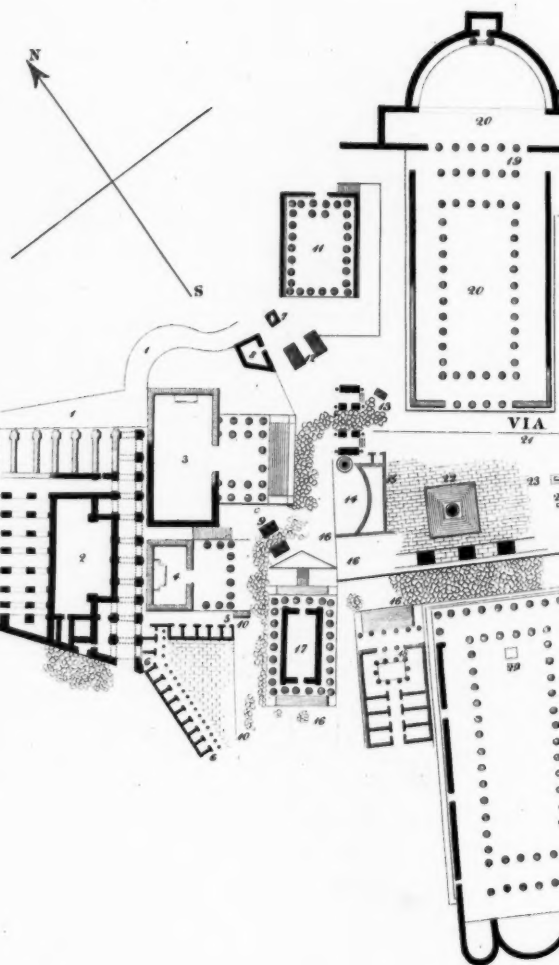
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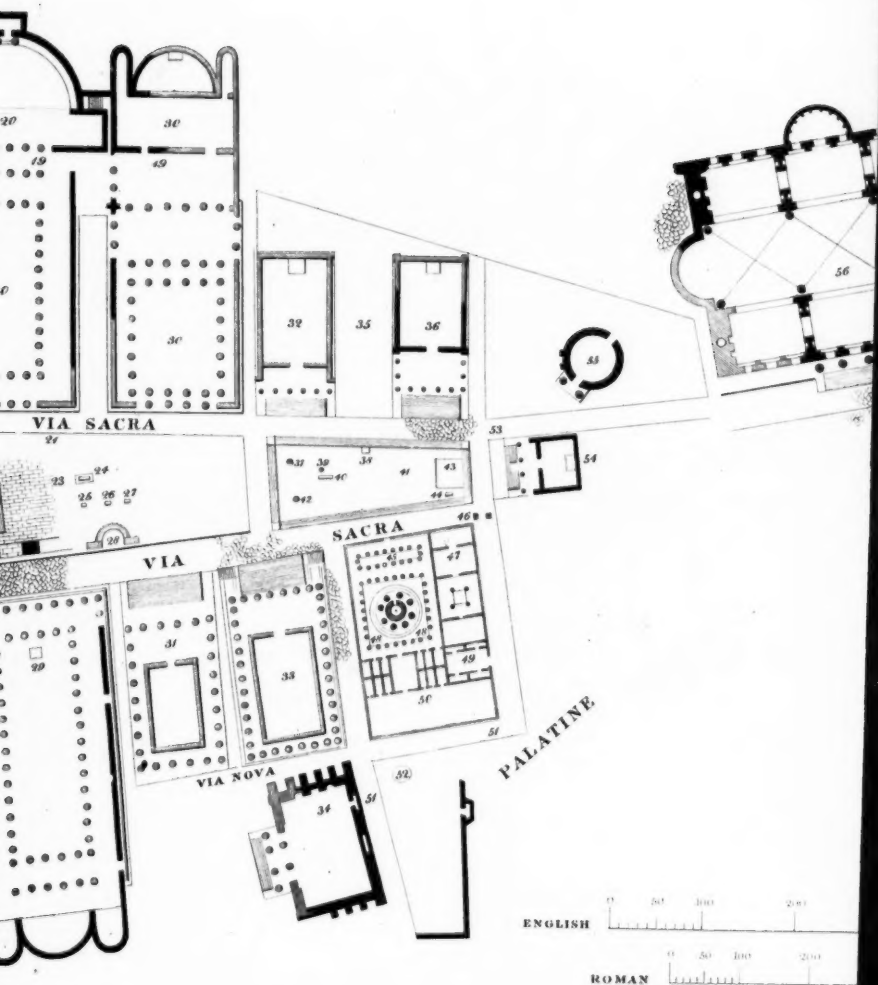
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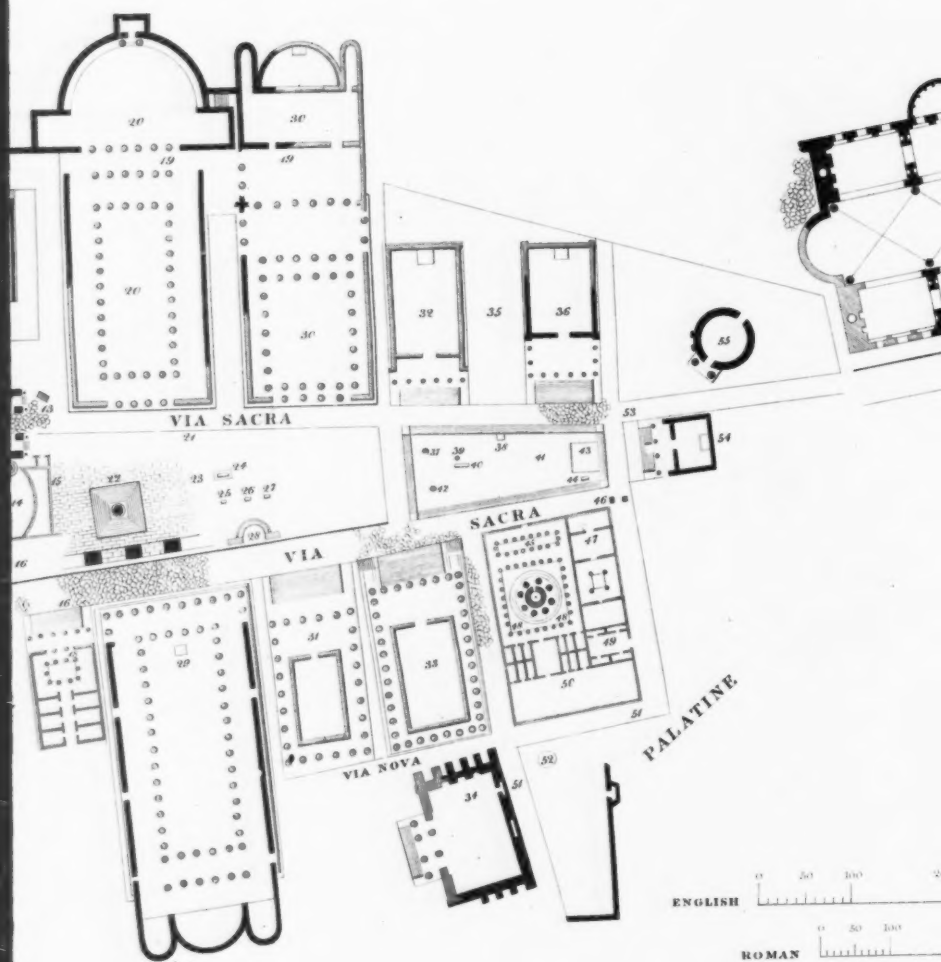
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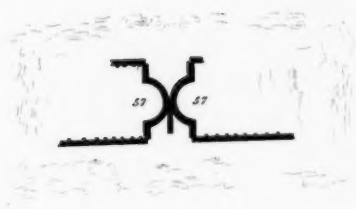
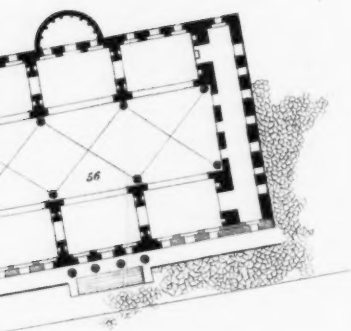
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CAPITOL









PLAN OF THE
FORUM ROMANUM
 AS DETERMINED BY THE LATEST EXCAVATIONS
 1838.

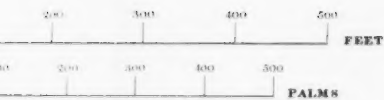


TABLE OF THE

No. on
the Plan.

BUNSEN, 1836.

BUNSEN, 1835.

CANIN

1	Clivus Asyli	* Clivus Asyli	* Clivus Asyli
2	Tabularium et Ærarium Sanctius	Tabularium et Ærarium Sanctius	Porticus Capitolinus
3	Ædes Concordiæ	Ædes Concordiæ	Ædes Concordiæ
4	Templum Saturni	Templum Saturni	Templum Jovis Tonantis
5	Schola Xantha	Schola Xantha	Schola Xantha
6	Porticus Clivi et Scholæ	Porticus Clivi et Scholæ	Templum Fortunæ
7	Templum Jani Quirini	* A. Marforius	
8	Carcer Mamertinus	Carcer Mamertinus	Carcer Mamertinus
9	Arcus Tiberii		
10	Clivus Capitolinus	* Clivus Capitolinus	Clivus Capitolinus
11	Senatus, Secretarium Senatûs	Senatus, Secretarium senatûs	Secretarium Senatûs
12	Arcus M. Aurelii	* Templum Fani	
13	Arcus Septimii Severi	Arcus Septimii Severi	Arcus Septimii Severi
14	Milliarium Aureum	Milliarium Aureum	Umbilicus Urbis, B. Millia
15	Rostra Flavia	* R. Statua equestris Constantini	
16	Cloacæ		
17	Templum Vespasiani	* B. Vicus Jugarius	T. Saturni; B. Ærarium Sa
18	Græcostasis	* B. Lacus Servilius	Temp. Opis et Saturni
19, 19	Basilica Paulli }	Basilica Paulli	* L.A. Arcus Tiberii
20	Basilica Æmilia }		{ * Basilica Paulli
21	FORUM		{ B. Statua trium Parcarum
22	Columna Phocæ	Columna Phocæ	Columna Phocæ A. Temp.
23	Lacus Curtius		Statua equestris Domitiani
24	Equus Domitiani	Equus Domitiani. R. Tria Fata	Statua Jani
25	Cæsar		
26	Pompeius		
27	Augustus		
28	Rostra		Rostra Antiqua
29	Basilica Julia (Caii et Lucii)	Basilica Julia	Basilica Julia (not excavate
30	Basilica Fulvia et Æmilia	* Basilica Paulli	lica Sempromia et Statua
31	Templum Castoris et Pollucis	B. Templum Augusti	* Basilica Æmilia
32	Templum Felicitatis	* Curia	* Comitium B. Templum C
33	Templum Minervæ Chalcidicæ	* Templum Castoris et Pollucis B. Clivus Sacer	Juturnæ
34	Curia Julia (Curia vetus)	* Domus Caligulæ	* Curia Hostilia
35	Vulcanale		* Domus Caligulæ, B. T
36	Templum Antonini et Faustinae	Templum Antonini et Faustinae	Augusti; below them 2
37	Cloacina	Rostra	Atrium, Sacellum Aji L
38	Statua Accii Navii	* Græcostasis	Sacellum Larium
39	Ficus Ruminialis		B. Basilica Fulvia vel Arge
40	Lupa		Templum Antonini and Fa
41	Comitium	* Comitium	Rostra nova Julia
42	Sepulchrum Romuli		
43	Tribunal	* Rostra Julia	
44	Puteal Libonis		
45	Atrium Æd. Vestæ	Atrium Æd. Vestæ	* B. Arcus Jani superior
46	Arcus Fabianus		* A.L. Arcus Fabiana, et P
47	Regia		
48, 48	Ædes Vestæ	Ædes Vestæ	* Regia Regis Sacrificuli, A
49	Domus Regis		* Græcostasis
50	Domus Vestalium et Lucus	* L. Clivus Sacer	* Basilica Opimia
51	Clivus Sacer		* Clivus Sacer
52	Sacellum	Lucus Vestæ	
53	Rostra Julia		
54	Ædes D. Julii	Ædes D. Julii	
55	Ædes Penatium	Ædes Penatium	Templum Remi
56	Basilica Constantiniana (Forum Pacis)	Basilica et Forum Pacis	{ Basilica Constantiniana
57			{ Sacellum Penatium
58			

THE PRINCIPAL SYSTEMS OF THE ROMAN FORUM.

CANINA, 1834.

FEA, 1827.

NIBBY, 1819.

inus	* Remains of ancient walls Tabularium et Athenæum	* Clivus Asyli Porticus Capitolinus
e Tonantis	Templum Concordiæ Augustæ Templum Jovis Tonantis	* Templum Concordiæ (not excavated) Templum Jovis Tonantis
næ		} * Clivus Capitolinus
inus	Arcus Drusi vel Germanici Carcer Mamertinus et Tullianus * R. Statua equestris M. Aurelii Clivus Capitolinus Templum Martis Ultoris	Carcer Mamertinus
us atús		* Clivus Capitolinus, see 5 and 6 Secretarium Senatûs Templum Jani Arcus Septimii Severi
Severi , B. Milliarium	Arcus Septimii Severi Milliarium Aureum	
Erarium Saturni; and below the latter Saturni berii	Templum Junonis Monetæ * Part of Forum	Templum Fortunæ, R. Schola Xan Templum Vespasiani et Arcus Tibe
alli m Parcarum	* B. Arcus Tiberii	* B. Templum Saturni et Erarium a Milliarium Aur. in front
A. Temp. Jani Gemini	Columna Phocæ	* Basilica Æmilia
Domitiani	* Statua Jani	Columna Phocæ. A. Statua Jani. A.R. trium Parcarum
ot excavated) B. Vicus Tuscus, Basi- et Statua Vertumnî	* Part of Forum * Erarium Saturni	* B.L. Area Saturni in vico Jugari Basilica Julia et Vicus Tuscus Altera Basilica Æmilia
Templum Castoris et Pollucis et Fons	* Part of Forum * Templum Castoris et Pollucis. B. Fons Juturnæ	* B. Templum Julii Cæsaris, B.L. Domitiani and R. of it, Rostra anti * Græcostasis et Comitium
lae, B. Templum Cæsaris et Arcus ow them Templum Vestæ, with its lum Aji Locutii, Lucus Vestalium & um ia vel Argentaria ini and Faustinae, A. Templum Pacis	* Curia Hostilia et Julia, B.L. Chalcidica Curie, B.R. Græcostasis, and below them Comitium, et Templum Romuli et Remi	B. Curia, and under it Templum C. Lacus Juturnæ et Templum Vestæ, cus Sacellum
Superior	Templum Antonini and Faustinae Statua Jani	Templum Antonini et Faustinae R. Cloacina et Janus Arcus Fabianus, Puteal Libonis, R. Vu
iana, et Puteal Libonis	* Arcus Fabianus Puteal Libonis	
sacrificuli. A. Arcus Jani inferior	* R. Lucus Sacer Vestæ	Lupercal
	* Regia, vel Domus Pontificum	
	Templum Romuli et Remi	Templum Remi
stantiniana * B.L. Domus Galeni et enatium	T. Pacis. * B.L. Domus Galeni, et Servii Tullii, B.R. Tarquinii Prisci Templum Veneris et Romæ Arcus Titi. * Clivus Sacer	Basilica Constantini Templum Veneris et Romæ Arcus Titi

OF THE PRINCIPAL SYSTEMS OF THE ROMAN FORUM.

CANINA, 1834.

FEA, 1827.

Capitolinus	* Remains of ancient walls Tabularium et Athenæum	* Clivus Asyncreticus Porticus Capitolina
Templum Concordiæ Augustæ Templum Jovis Tonantis	Templum Concordiæ Augustæ Templum Jovis Tonantis	* Templum Concordiæ Augustæ Templum Jovis Tonantis
Templum Fortunæ		* Clivus Asyncreticus
Carcer Mamertinus et Tullianus	Arcus Drusi vel Germanici Carcer Mamertinus et Tullianus * R. Statua equestris M. Aurelii	Carcer Mamertinus et Tullianus
Templum Capitolinus Senatûs	Clivus Capitolinus Templum Martis Ultoris	* Clivus Asyncreticus Secretarium Templum Jani
Arcus Septimii Severi Milliarium	Arcus Septimii Severi Milliarium Aureum	Arcus Septimii Severi
Templum Ærarium Saturni; and below the latter Templum Jovis et Saturni Templum Tiberii	Templum Junonis Monetae * Part of Forum	Templum Junonis Monetae Templum Jovis et Saturni * B. Templum Junonis Monetae Milliarium
Templum Paulli Templum trium Parcarum	* B. Arcus Tiberii	* Basilica Æmilia
Columna Phocæ A. Temp. Jani Gemini	Columna Phocæ	Columna Phocæ trium Parcarum
Statua Domitiani	* Statua Jani	
Templum Æmilia (not excavated) B. Vicus Tuscus, Basilica Julia et Statua Vertumni	* Part of Forum * Ærarium Saturni	* B.L. Area Basilica Julia Altera Basilica
Templum Castoris et Pollucis et Fons	* Part of Forum	* B. Templum Castoris et Pollucis Domitiani
Templum Castoris et Pollucis. B. Fons Juturnæ	* Templum Castoris et Pollucis. B. Fons Juturnæ	* Græcostasis
Curia Hostilia et Julia, B.L. Chalcidica Curia, B.R. Græcostasis, and below them Comitium, et Templum Romuli et Remi	* Curia Hostilia et Julia, B.L. Chalcidica Curia, B.R. Græcostasis, and below them Comitium, et Templum Romuli et Remi	B. Curia, and Lacus Juturnæ cusc Sacellum
Templum Antonini and Faustinae, A. Templum Pacis Statua Jani	Templum Antonini and Faustinae Statua Jani	Templum Antonini and Faustinae R. Cloacina et Arcus Fabianus
Arcus Fabianus, et Puteal Libonis	* Arcus Fabianus Puteal Libonis	
R. Lucus Sacer Vestæ	* R. Lucus Sacer Vestæ	
Regia, vel Domus Pontificum	* Regia, vel Domus Pontificum	Lupercal
Templum Romuli et Remi	Templum Romuli et Remi	Templum Romuli et Remi
Basilica Constantiana * B.L. Domus Galeni et Templum Penatium	T. Pacis. * B.L. Domus Galeni, et Servii Tullii, B.R. Tarquinii Prisci Templum Veneris et Romæ Arcus Titi. * Clivus Sacer	Basilica Constantiana Templum Veneris et Romæ Arcus Titi

NIBBY, 1819.

OLDER ANTIQUARIANS.

Clivus Asyli
rticus Capitolinus

Templum Concordiæ (not excavated)
Templum Jovis Tonantis

* Clivus Capitolinus

rcer Mamertinus

Clivus Capitolinus, see 5 and 6
cretarium Senatûs
Templum Jani
rcus Septimii Severi

Templum Fortunæ, *R. Schola Xantha, B.R.*
Templum Vespasiani et Arcus Tiberii
B. Templum Saturni et Ærarium sanctius
Milliarium Aur. in front
Basilica Æmilia

olumna Phocæ. *A. Statua Jani. A.R. Statua*
trium Parcarum

B.L. Area Saturni in vico Jugario, B.R.
Basilica Julia et Vicus Tuscus
tera Basilica Æmilia

B. Templum Julii Cæsaris, B.L. Equus
Domitiani and *R. of it, Rostra antiqua.*

Græcostasis et Comitium

Curia, and under it Templum Castoris,
Lacus Juturnæ et Templum Vestæ, et Lu-
cus Sacellum

Templum Antonini et Faustinae
Cloacina et Janus
rcus Fabianus, Puteal Libonis, *R. Vulcanale*

uperca

Templum Remi

Basilica Constantini

Templum Veneris et Romæ
rcus Titi

Tabularium, by Marliano, Fauno, Donati, Piranesi,
Guattani; Tabularium et Athenæum, by Nardini;
Porticus Publicus, by Venuti

Templum Jovis Tonantis, by all the old writers; Tem-
plum Jovis Custodis, by Bufalini

Templum Fortunæ, by Nardini; Templum Vespasi-
ani, by Piale; Templum Concordiæ, by all the rest.

Columna C. Duellii, by Fauno; Græcostasis by Pira-
nesi; Templum Vespasiani, by Venuti; Templum
Jovis Custodis, by Guattani

Basilica Æmilia, by Guattani; Templum Saturni, by
Bufalini, Fauno, & Venuti; Ærarium, by Gamucci
and Piranesi; Templum Adriani, by Nardini.

* Templum Jovis Statoris, by the old writers; Comi-
tium, by Nardini; Templum Castoris et Pollucis,
by Piranesi and Piale

Curia, by Nardini; Curia Hostilia, by Venuti; Vesti-
bulum Caligulae, by Piranesi, *B. Templum Romuli,*
by Venuti

Templum Romuli, by Fauno; Templum Quirini, by
Donati and Gamucci; Templum Remi, by Nardini
and Venuti, Templum Romuli et Remi, by Piranesi
Vestibulum Neronis, by Piale; Templum Pacis, by the
old writers; Tabular Neronis, by Venuti and Piranesi



THE
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JULY 1838.

ART. I.—1. *Descrizione del Foro Romano, e sue adjacenze, dell' Architetto Cav. Luigi Canina. Description of the Roman Forum, and its Environs.* By the Chev. L. Canina, Architect. Rome. 1834.

2. *Le Forum Romain expliqué selon l'état actuel des Fouilles, le 21 Avril 1835.* Par C. Bunsen. Rome. 1835.

3. *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica.* Annals of the Institute of Archeological Correspondence. Vol. VIII. Nos. II. III. Rome. 1836.

THERE are few readers of Roman history, we suppose, who have not, in imagination, transplanted themselves to the Forum of the Eternal City. They have probably built it up according to their respective ideas of magnificence: but the leading features of the picture would be pretty generally the same. The Capitol, crowned with its sumptuous temples, at once a sanctuary and a fortress, will overlook the extensive area below; on one side, it will appear cut down, so as to give ascent to the crowds of citizens; on the other, frowning with the dark, beetling precipices of the Tarpeian Rock. The Via Sacra, lined with temples and basilicas, will be seen, either thronged with the gorgeous spectacle of some military triumph, or abandoned to the more amusing scene of Horace and his boar. On one side, we imagine the rostra, with Gracchus or Cicero haranguing an eager multitude; on another, the senate-house occupied by calmer deliberations. But, beyond these leading objects, placed by us often quite at random, we trouble ourselves but little about filling up the large space which the Forum must have occupied, or in locating the many objects which our passage through the classics brings under our notice, as having existed in, or near it. Not so the Roman antiquary, to whom this interesting spot, changing every day its aspects, under the slow but certain influence of the spade and mattock, affords materials for far minuter studies, and much more accurate restorations. This is, indeed, a species of husbandry hardly known beyond the precincts of that city; from which, every year, springs a fresh crop of basili-

cas and temples, columns and pedestals, and, what is still more certain, of theories and controversies.

The revolutions which used to take place in the old Forum, are nothing compared to these that are now daily witnessed in it. In ancient times, the senators or tribunes might change sides; but certainly not the temples: one candidate might jostle another out of his place, but one large building could hardly have been so unneighbourly to its fellow of brick and mortar; one faction might drive the other back, and even out of the sacred precincts; but it would have been unusual, we fancy, for one portico to send another, with all its columns, rank and file, a-packing from the station it had occupied for some centuries: some patriot might put to open shame a turbulent demagogue, but we imagine the ancients never saw the front of one building out-face another, till this one turned its back upon its rival. Yet all such wonderful evolutions have we beheld among the buildings of the Roman Forum,—not unaptly compared by the late Sir W. Gell, to a country-dance, in which temples change sides, monuments cross hands, and columns lead down the middle. We cannot imagine a more dangerous exposure of parental authority to contempt, than would occur, should any gentleman, who had visited Rome only twenty years ago, rummage out his journal, and the notes he made after the most approved guide-books of the day, and proceed in person to show his boys the lions of ancient Rome. Why, the young sparks (we speak experienced) would laugh at the old gentleman's beard, upon hearing his antiquated antiquarianism. He naturally takes them to the Church of Araceli, on the Capitol, and tells them with great feeling, that this is the site of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and tries to work up their minds to a suitable pitch of enthusiasm. But the rogues have found out in *their* guide-books, that since their papa was last in Rome, the said temple has quietly walked across the area on the top of the hill, and placed itself upon its other extremity, where, by a lucky coincidence, the Archeological Institute has established itself. He descends into the Forum, and points out three columns of beautiful form, composing an angle of a portico, at the foot of the Capitol. These, every body has known from time immemorial as part of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans. (Plan, No. 4.) But, there, every body has been wrong; for now they are considered as part of the Temple of Saturn. Eight other columns stand beside these, which, twenty years ago, you would have taken any wager, belonged to the Temple of Concord, celebrated as the theatre of Cicero's indignant eloquence. But, alas! within the last twenty years the edifice has passed through many transmutations, having been changed,

first by Nibby into the Temple of Fortune, then by Fea into that of Juno Moneta, later by Piale into that of Vespasian, since by Canina into that of Saturn, and, lastly, by Bunsen back again to that of Vespasian, which, for the present, it remains (No. 17.) The hero of a Christmas pantomime could not have endured more changes. Farther on you meet three other columns, supporting a fragment of entablature, justly admired for elegance of form, which every antiquarian, except Nardini and Piranesi, had called the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, till within the last twenty years; when Nibby, in 1819, turned them into the Græcostasis, or hall for the reception of ambassadors; then Fea, in 1827, made them become the Temple of Castor and Pollux; Canina, in 1834, transformed them into the Basilica Julia; M. Bunsen, in 1835, restored them to the Twin-brothers; and a year later took them back, and dedicated them to Minerva Chalcidici, (No. 33.) The Temple of Peace seemed too large and too solidly established a building to be subject to such antiquarian vagaries as these; but even it has lately had its metamorphoses. Nibby was the first of the moderns who laid his daring hands upon it; and, from a temple, turned it into a law-court, under the title of the Basilica of Constantine; Piale, in 1832, called it the Vestibule of Nero; Canino restored it to Constantine; but we believe it will be changed into the Forum Pacis, (No. 56.)

These examples will suffice to convince our readers, that it is as difficult to keep pace with the discoveries of Roman Archaeologues, as with the improvements in the steam-engine. If you lose sight of the Forum for five years, you are thrown back upon your studies, and find that you have to begin all over again. If you insist that when you were last in Rome, say three years ago, the Græcostasis was on the left side of the Forum, and that now you see it placed on the right, your antiquarian guide may answer you as Sganarelle does, on a similar complaint respecting his trifling change in the position of the heart: "*Oui; cela était autrefois ainsi; mais nous avons changé tout cela.*"* But what will travellers of even a recent date say, when we inform them that they are likely soon to lose the entire Forum, which threatens to walk off bodily to another place, leaving the monuments they have considered as belonging to it, to some other occupant. For, Professor Nibby has now, we understand, a theory, that the real Forum Romanum was not a bit where we now place it, but between the Capitol and the Palatine, in the direction pointed out on our plan by the buildings marked Nos. 18, 29, and 54.

* This translocation takes place between the two plans published by Chev. Bunsen in 1835 and 1836. (No. 18.)

As the barns which at present occupy this ground have been purchased by the government, for the purpose of continuing the excavations in this direction, this new idea may be satisfactorily put to proof. And should the learned antiquarian's theory prove true, all those who have feasted their imaginations by their reminiscences of what they imagined to be the Forum, must be content either to return to Rome, to renew or correct them, or must forego the privileges of travellers—and be silent.

But how are all these wonderful changes of systems and opinions brought about? The whole mystery lies folded up in that magical word "excavation." At Rome, this word supplies matter for grave discussion, and for after-dinner talk; it points out the direction of the walk or the drive; it presents an object of joint-stock speculation, or of individual industry. Nothing could be done at Rome without excavation; it becomes a universal mania. English children soon learn to turn up the soil with their walking-sticks for bits of marble, and to pilfer fragments of mosaic; their parents buy an unopened Etruscan sepulchre, as they would buy a pipe of wine at home, only they have a tolerable chance of finding it empty; noblemen pay in a month three or four years' rent for a patch of ground, twenty times turned up, for the incomparable satisfaction of seeing, day after day, some cart-loads of bricks dug out, the statues for which they are searching having been a century or two in the Museum.

The excavations, however, of real utility, are those conducted by the government, not so much with the expectation of discovering works of art, as with a view to make out the plans of ancient Rome, particularly the Forum. But, first, as to the way in which they are performed. The workmen employed are pensioners on public bounty, who, instead of being shut up in work-houses, receive a small pay, to labour, if it deserve the name, in the open air. They are none of your brawney, square-built men of the pickaxe and barrow. They are a motley race of every age, from the mere boy to the "lean and slippered pantaloon;" arranged in every variety of costume, most of them preserving some remains of cast-off finery about their persons. They wear their hats with a certain air, that, for all its elegance, provokes you to ridicule, and they handle their spades with about as much taste as they would do a loaded rifle. But in one respect they certainly, and almost without exception, prove themselves to be the legitimate inheritors and possessors of the Forum. They are universally a "*gens togata*." Any of them would lose caste, did he ply his work during the winter, otherwise than in a long cloak, the drapery of which is artificially arranged round his person, while engaged in his classical toil. It is true, that

their forefathers, on the same spot, used to gather or gird up their cloaks when about to undertake any thing very laborious; but the reader must not, for a moment, suppose, that these gentlemen's work can have any claim to that title. It is, on the contrary, the most delicious example of making toil a pleasure that can be imagined. As each workman brings his barrow to be, not filled, but sprinkled with earth from the trenches, he sits down to converse with his friends of the shovel, who, in the quietest way possible, measure him out his just load. When this is obtained, he follows in the track of his immediate predecessor, and forms another link in the processional train, moving at the slowest conceivable pace. Their very barrows utter a sympathetic creak at every turn of the wheel, and seem to partake of their masters' antipathy to exertion. Their line never proceeds far without a general stoppage. One of the first on it, soon pauses to take rest, or snuff, and arrests the entire train; yet not a murmur of complaint is heard. As after many such interruptions, each labourer reaches his destination, it is probably only to assist in forming an immense mound of earth, which, in three months, must be as quietly conveyed a few hundred yards farther. It is altogether a scene from entomology on a gigantic scale,—men performing, the office of ants, without any of their industry. For, by means of the long black trains of workmen, that literally creep along the earth, immense heaps of rubbish are, in time, either carried off, or made up. They certainly are not the "*Ardelionum quædam natio*," mentioned by the classics, as abounding in Rome, and as

"Multum agendo nihil agens."—*Phæd.* ii. 5.

for, on the contrary, by doing nothing, these in the end get through a great deal of work: and, moreover, the characteristic of "*occupata in otio*" must be here reversed, as our men are most leisurely in their occupation.

By such means as these is the great work of excavation performed,—the first and great cause and promoter of new forensic theories in Rome. But it must not be imagined, that every change of nomenclature in a building argues a new excavation, or the discovery of some new inscription, or passage in the classics. The same data to one antiquary give a perfectly distinct result from what another had previously drawn; nay, the same eyes seem to read the same words in a most different sense in different years. Before, however, endeavouring to unravel the intricacies of the modern systems, we must describe the present state of the Forum, in reference to its various excavations. On descending from the Capitol by the Mamertine Prison, (No. 8), by the Clivus

Asyli, which now passes over part of the Temple of Concord, (No. 3), the traveller finds himself on the modern level of the Forum, now known by the name of Campo Vaccino; but still many feet above the ancient pavement. His natural wish is, that the entire area should be uncovered and reduced to the old level. Serious difficulties are opposed to this plan. For as the neighbouring ground has all been raised in similar proportion, the several streets which run into the Forum, would have to rush down a most inconvenient, not to say dangerous, steep, were it dug out to its ancient depth. At the same time, the churches and shops which line it in the direction of the *Via Sacra*, would be bared to their foundations, and deprived of their present entrances. The government, therefore, has preferred, for the present at least, to make large excavations round the principal ruins, leaving a raised causeway between them, sometimes communicating by arches under it. The work of excavation was begun by the French, and continued under the Papal government. But this went no farther than cutting a trench or pit under the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, (No. 13), as well as round that of Constantine, which is beyond the precincts at present under examination. The work has been continued unremittingly, though slowly, till the present day. The following is a general view of the excavations as they at present exist. The entire space between the Capitol and the arch of Severus, is laid bare, so that the area covered by (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15 and 17) with the intermediate streets, are now laid completely open. Another considerable excavation surrounds the column of Phocas, with the three adjoining bases, (No. 22), as far as (No. 16.) This communicates by means of arches with the forementioned one, from which it is separated by a causeway. The remaining area of the Forum, properly so called, is yet covered up, being traversed from the arch of Severus to that of Titus by an alley of trees. There is, however, a partial excavation at (No. 33), to discover the bases of the three columns there standing. The portico of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, (No. 36), is completely laid open; and as a small church had been built on or in the temple itself, the front door which was at the modern level, was seen for many years after the excavation, elevated like a window above the new level discovered. Lately a bridge has been thrown over the Chasm, and has made the church once more accessible through the front. At this point the Forum ends; but the excavations have been carried on more extensively and completely beyond its limits. The Temple of Peace, as it is commonly called, (No. 56), has been cleared out completely, and railed in; the platform of the double Temple of Rome and

Venus has been laid bare, with the steps that led to it, (No. 57.) The arch of Titus, (No. 58) has been cleared of all later incumbrances, one of which at least, the *Turris Chartularia*, would, in our judgment, have been better spared demolition, and thoroughly repaired, and from it to the Colosseum, and beyond the arch of Constantine, you walk pretty nearly on the ancient level.

We have perhaps delayed too long giving our readers some information concerning the plan annexed to this article. Having found that it would be hopeless to think of giving any account of the works before us, and of the interesting part of antiquarian topography to which they refer, without some graphic representation, we had no choice except either to give them the bare surface of the Forum, broken only by such monuments as actually remain, or else to select one of the many plans published with the works reviewed, although necessarily executed for a particular system. Having preferred the latter method as more interesting, and presenting a better guide to the eye towards forming an easier idea of the *possible* distribution of this magnificent spot, we could not long hesitate which to select. That of Chev. Bunsen, in 1836, of which ours is an extract reduced to half its dimensions, is at once the most modern, and in point of measurement, we believe, the most accurate. It has been made with great diligence by G. Angelhard, a German architect of great ability. We have called ours an extract from this; because the original contains not only the Roman Forum, but the adjoining ones, now almost entirely built over, of Trajan, Nerva, Augustus, and Julius Cæsar, with the Forum Transitorium, which connected them with the Roman. These lay to the north and northeast of the latter, and were built upon more regular plans and with greater magnificence. But it would lead us too far to attempt any account of them, or of the theories concerning them. We may observe, that the plan we have followed, though bearing the date of 1836, was not published till the following year. Nor does it extend beyond the Basilica of Constantine, or Temple, or Forum of Peace, (No. 56), which, in reality, is beyond the limits of the Roman Forum. But still we have thought it right to extend it to the arch of Titus, (No. 58), both because the writers on the Forum generally include the ground thus far, and because it forms the modern limit of the area commonly known by that name. The preceding remarks will have sufficiently cautioned our readers against imagining that all or great part of the buildings designed on it actually exist, or even may be discovered by their remains. Beyond those already mentioned as excavated, there is only the round temple, (No. 55), now the Church of

Saints Cosmas and Damian, or rather a vestibule to it, that yet stands. We have marked by darker lines in our plan, what remains from antiquity in the buildings laid down in it.

The dimensions of the Roman Forum, at first sight, strike the spectator as inadequate for the purposes for which it was set aside. For, beginning to reckon from the arch of Severus (No. 13) to the temple of Antoninus (No. 26), or the arch of Fabius, opposite to it (No. 46), now destroyed, which all allow to have been the extent of the area in this direction, we have only a length of 630 Paris feet, equal to 590 English feet. As to the other dimension, it would seem probable that it could not extend farther than the Palatine hill, on one side, and the line of buildings on the other; and this will give us a breadth narrowing from 190 to 110 Paris, or from 178 to 103 English feet. Professor Nibby, as well as Fea, considers what we have called the length to be the breadth of the Forum, which, therefore, stretched considerably farther on one side, so as to be a square, according to Vitruvius's rule. But the position of the Palatine hill, and the lines of ancient streets discovered in the excavations, seem to forbid the admission of this theory. Yet not even the whole of this space, small as it must seem for a city so populous as ancient Rome, was available for the purposes of public assemblies. Of the two compartments marked on the area of the Forum, that numbered 41 is supposed by M. Bunsen to be the Comitium, where assemblies for religious and political purposes were held. This was not a building, but only an allotted space. The other (No. 21) is the Forum properly so called, which was given up to the ordinary concerns of life, as a public square. Both the Comitium and the Forum were encumbered by public monuments, which tended greatly to reduce their space. They were naturally the growth of ages, but even from the earliest ages the obstruction must have been great. For in the Comitium there were the sepulchre of Romulus (No. 42), the statue of Accius Navius (No. 38), the Ruminal Fig-tree (No. 39), the statues of the Wolf (No. 43), and of Cloacina (No. 37), and at its upper extremity the tribunal for the hearing of causes, with the altar known by the name of the Puteal Libonis (Nos. 43, 44). Such at least are the positions assigned to these monuments by M. Bunsen in his *last* plan. The Forum, in like manner, was occupied by statues raised in honour of different commanders, which must have greatly narrowed its precincts. Still we believe that the disappointment of a foreigner is as great, when, after having read so much in the papers of the electioneering scenes of Covent Garden, he discovers, on first visiting it, how small is the space on which the

assembled thousands of Westminster have to hear the rostral eloquence of their candidates.

We now proceed to the buildings and principal monuments that surrounded and adorned the Roman Forum; and first we will clear the way by enumerating those which may be considered as certain, or at least admitted by all antiquarians. Their number will indeed be found very small.

No. 1. The *Clivus Asyli*, or descent from the Capitol to the Forum.

No. 2. The *Tabularium* and *Ærarium*, or national archives and treasury. It exists under the modern buildings of the Capitol, and is in great measure cleared out.

No. 3. Temple of Concord. Inscriptions as well as topographical descriptions of the ancients leave no doubt respecting this being the true site of this building. Its area or pavement is uncovered, so far as the modern way from the Capitol will allow.

No. 5. *Schola Xantha*. The term *Schola* applied to these ruins lately uncovered, must be taken in the sense of chambers, in the occupation of notaries, writers, and cursitors, attached to the ediles, and other forensic functionaries. These remains had formerly been laid open, and then had an inscription with the title now given them, which was derived from A. Fabius Xanthus, who repaired the building.

No. 6. *Porticus Clivi*. Tacitus and Livy mention the existence of a portico in this spot, and the late excavations have discovered it. Offices similar to the former probably existed under it.

No. 8. The Mamertime Prison.

No. 13. Triumphal arch of Septimius Severus. The monument being entire, its inscription baffles antiquarian ingenuity to change its denomination.

Thus far we have been engaged rather with the *Clivus Capitolinus* than with the Forum itself; which as we shall see is much poorer in sure monuments. Two interesting monuments, lately discovered, meet us at this point.

No. 14 is a circular base, bearing a smaller pedestal, on which was a short thick column, found near it, once evidently covered with metal. This, Canina and Bunsen, we think with every probability, determined to have been the *Milliarium Aureum*, so called from the circumstance of its having been gilt. It held the place of Hyde Park Corner, or St. Giles's Pound, in ancient Rome, being the point of departure from which all the miles were measured on the various roads leading from the Capitol.

But as some antiquarians yet dissent from this opinion, we will not venture to class it among decidedly certain monuments.

No. 15. The line indicated by this number represents the remains of a rostrum or tribune for harangues, decorated with pilasters. Canina most happily applied to its illustration a basso-relievo of Constantine's triumphal arch, in which the emperor is represented as addressing the people from a low hustings, having a low balustrade in front, except in the very middle, where the speaker stands. The arches of Tiberius and of Severus are already represented, as is, perhaps, the *Tabularium*. All which answer precisely to this spot of the Forum and to no other. Neither would the form of the platform suit the ancient rostra, of which a clear representation has been preserved for us on a medal of Palikanus.

No. 22. Column of Phocas. This monument of a barbarous age, and of a most undeserving person, stands in the centre of the Forum, as if to mock at the stability of nobler works, and at the vagaries of antiquaries. As the pillar had been stolen from some ancient monument, and was covered above its base by the earth, it had all the appearance of belonging to an edifice; and thus greatly puzzled older antiquaries. The excavations disclosed the inscription on its base, and for once gave them the comfort of certainty and unanimity in their decision.

No. 36. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Here again an inscription in large letters on the entablature of the portico yet standing, leaves no room for antiquarian squabbles.

No. 57. The temple of Rome and Venus, out of the precincts of the Forum, may be considered as tolerably certain. The double cella is sufficiently entire, and the groundwork, thanks to judicious excavations, may be accurately traced.

No. 58. The arch of Titus. The same may be said of this monument, so interesting to Christian faith, from its bearing the sculptured representation of the Jewish spoils borne in triumph, after not a stone had been left upon a stone of the devoted temple.

Here we close our lists of certain monuments, a poor proportion to those that remain as yet undecided, matter for endless contests and bewildering theories. The student of Roman antiquities must after this small gleaning from the numerous buildings of the Forum, be content to wander in the dark, or at least renounce all hope of ever coming to any end of his scholarship. About a dozen monuments, out of nearly sixty, may be considered as settled, and almost every one of these by means of inscriptions, remaining upon them, or found amidst their ruins. The earth

has been turned up round them all, so as to leave small hope of farther discoveries for most of them; so that we fear we must come to the inevitable conclusion, that wherever we are left to the forming of our decisions only on the comparison of classical testimonies, we shall have little or no chance of unanimity or security. Let us take an instance or two.

The three columns at the angle of No. 4 had been always called the temple of Jupiter Tonans. The arguments for this nomenclature were such as might, at first sight, appear satisfactory. First we knew from Suetonius, that Augustus erected a temple to this deity, in consequence of a wonderful escape from lightning in Spain. The architecture of this temple is precisely of the age of that emperor. Secondly, Victor, one of the *Regionarii*, or writers who have given lists of the buildings existing in the different districts or *Regiones* of Rome, tells us that he erected it on the Clivus Capitolinus. This temple stands precisely on that spot. Thirdly, a medal of Augustus represents it as fronted by a portico of six columns of the Corinthian order, and the remains of this building exhibit precisely both characteristics. Fourthly, the cornice is decorated by the cap of the priests of Jupiter, crowned with thunderbolts; a device most applicable to such a building, and hardly to any other. Upon the strength of these arguments every writer of any weight upon the Forum had declared the three columns to belong to the Thunderer's temple. But in 1835, Busen rejected, at least tacitly, all these arguments, and, we think upon rather vague grounds, declared them a part of that of Saturn. That there was such a temple *anteclivum Capitolinum, juxta Concordiæ templum*, according to Servius, cannot be denied. But is this assertion sufficient to countervail the various arguments which support the older and more general opinion? Of the inscriptions upon the three temples upon the Clivus (Nos. 3, 4, 17,) given by the Anonymous of Einsiedlin, in the eighth century, two give the titles of the buildings on which they were placed, the temples of Vespasian and Concord, but the third only mentions the restoration of the edifice without naming it. As a question, therefore, of evidence, so far as it is before the public, we are not satisfied that there is ground to change the old name of this ruin. But the consequences of such conflicting opinions go far beyond the individual building they immediately affect, and carry the confusion into all its vicinity. Thus Tacitus tells us that the arch of Tiberius was near Saturn's temple, and consequently the plan of Chev. Bunsen places it across the street, at No. 9, although not the slightest trace is to be found, in the pavement or excavations, of any triumphal arch having stood there. On the other hand

Nibby having called the three columns the temple of Jupiter, has plausible arguments for calling the eight Ionic pillars of No. 17, (now called by Bunsen the temple of Vespasian,) the temple of Fortune. For this is mentioned as being near that of the Thunderer, in an old inscription, and was burnt and repaired under Maxentius, to whose time these columns may well belong, being rudely put together; and, moreover, it is near other points determined by old writers.

However a natural question presents itself here; where have the later theorists placed the temple of Jupiter? We answer they have given it no place at all in the Forum. Now this seems to afford ground for still more serious doubts as to the possibility of any final adjustment of claims between the occupiers of the Roman Forum. For the preliminary step to such settlement seems naturally to be, what buildings are to be admitted into, and what excluded from, its hallowed precincts. It is true that the temple of Jupiter Tonans is spoken of by Pliny and Suetonius as being in *Capitolio*, but others say it was on the Clivus, and the former expression will apply to the latter situation, though this will hardly allow us to place the temple on the hill itself. But what hope can we have that antiquaries will finally agree in allocating the various edifices which adorned the Forum, upon any comparison of classical authorities, so long as these do not bring them to accordance, respecting their very existence in its area? Every side of the Forum will afford us sufficient examples of this strange uncertainty. Fea calls the eight columns of No. 17 the temple of Juno Moneta, of which no trace is to be found in the plans of Bunsen, Nibby, or Canina. Some consider the *Milliarium aureum*, and what was called the *Umbilicus Romæ*, the centre of Rome, as two different objects; others identify them. Fea places the *Templum Martis Ultoris* in the Forum, at No. 11; Bunsen locates it in another Forum; and neither Nibby nor Canina give it any place in their Roman Forum. The arches and temples of Janus in and about this place form another fruitful source of dispute; no two agree even about the number of these buildings to be admitted within it. The basilicas which surrounded the Forum, are far from being decided. The general position of the Basilica Julia (No. 29) on the south side of the Forum, seems pretty well agreed on; but the exact locality differs in every plan. Those of the northern side are more disputed and give rise to complicated arguments. The reasoning of M. Bunsen, by which the Basilica Fulvia and Æmilia (20) is only one building, and distinct from a second Basilica Æmilia (30), yet so that these two communicated together, and might be called a single edifice (19), under the

denomination of the Basilica Pauli, is ingenious, and receives confirmation from the Capitoline fragments of the plan of Rome, which have preserved the form of this double basilica. But it is, we think a bold theory, likely to be severely contested. At least it gets rid of part of a serious difficulty in Roman topography—the disposal of so many basilicas as are placed by ancient writers round the Forum.

To give, by mere description, an adequate idea of the various schemes of the Forum Romanum, would be an endless and difficult task. We have, therefore, preferred to give our readers a tabular view, referable to the plan we have presented him. By it he will in a short time be able to trace the differences between different writers; remembering always that each one of course gives a different disposition to the buildings, as he does a different name. The first column contains Bunsen's plan of 1836, which we give reduced; the second his of the preceding year; the third Canina's of 1834; the fourth Fea's of 1827; and the fifth Nibby's of 1819. We have thrown into another column the opinions of older writers, inclusive of Piale's, whose researches were too limited to fill a separate column. Where the allocation of any building in one of the plans did not correspond exactly to an edifice marked in the plan, it is distinguished by an asterisk, to signify that it is placed by the author in the vicinity of that numbered opposite to it in the table, and the letters A, B, R, L, which follow the sign, denote the edifice in question to be situated *above*, *below*, to the *right*, or to the *left*, of the one indicated by the number.*

Our readers are now in possession of all the information that a limited article could convey, concerning the various theories to which this most fruitful field of speculation has given rise. We shall appear to have written rather as sceptics than as enthusiasts upon the subject; as inclined more to halt undecided between the many systems, than to yield ourselves up to the partisanship of any. We have been duped too often to act otherwise. We have indulged too frequently in admiration and romance, based upon theories which have proved false, not rather to ground our feelings, for the future, upon the grander consciousness that we have walked over the tomb of the republic's liberties and of the empire's magnificence, than upon the more curious fancies, that we this day stood in the ruins of the Senate-house, or that day meditated upon a broken column of some individual temple.

* Vide table, which accompanies the plan of the Forum, as shown at the beginning of this Number.

When a philosopher paces the field of former battles, he would be teased by the petty impertinence of one who ever wished to learn whether each mound contained the ashes of a greater officer or of a common soldier. The scenes which one day passed upon the spot, its ardent passions, its desperate struggles, its numerous death-gasps, its unheeded miseries; then its boisterous exultation and its triumphal shouts; contrasted with the mournful silence to which all has been reduced, and the quiet ascendancy which a higher order of laws has once more gained, making that very ruin of so many subservient to the increase of the fertility they regulate,—would exclude from his mind all desire to obtain minute acquaintance with details that could diminish his impressions by distracting and bewildering his mind. In this spirit we would advise the traveller to contemplate the ruins of ancient Rome, and particularly its Forum. Let him meditate rather than theorize, reflect more than study. To us a broken pillar is more eloquent than the entire Rostra, and the roofless area of a Senate-house speaks better than the tongue of Tullius, when he declaimed amidst the assembled fathers. The very consideration how the most magnificent buildings have lost even their names is to us worth a volume of discoveries; for it is the greatest of possible triumphs obtained by the destroying power over the ambition of man. Where could this anxious feeling have better hoped to secure its memorials than by inscribing them in bronze letters upon marble entablatures? Yet both inscription and building shortly fell, and left the proud and magnificent erection without a record! And had not religion interposed between time and his legitimate prey, scarcely a trace would now have remained to draw the traveller over the Capitol. The few fragments that remain she snatched out of its very jaws, and saved by consecrating to her own uses. Such her power ever appears, as that of a preserving power, a repairer of devastation, and the builder up of ruins which men's evil passions have made.

ART. II.—*Die Römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im Sechszehnten und Siebzehnten Jahrhundert.* Von Leopold Ranke. *The Roman Pontiffs, their Church and State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Leopold Ranke. 3 Vols. Berlin. 1834, 1836.

THERE is scarcely any portion of history that has been more neglected or less generally understood than the history of the Popes, who have occupied the Holy See, since the so-called Reformation. Protestant and even Catholic writers, who are

the oracles of the reading public, have not always been acquainted with the authentic sources from which this history ought to be drawn; and still more frequently, under the bias of religious or political fanaticism, the truth has been disfigured by them. The defenders of Catholicism have always been active in refuting their calumnies with solid proofs; but their works have, in general, been too learned, or too little known out of their own country, to destroy the influence of their ingenious adversaries, whose works are, in many cases, superior in point of style and composition. Thus it has happened, that in the opinion of Protestants, all this period of the history of the Apostolic Pontiffs is distinguished by avarice, perfidy, superstition, Jesuitism, and the Inquisition; and even many Catholics give up the defence of too many of the Popes, and entrench themselves on the impregnable position, that the Church which Christ built upon a rock, cannot suffer from the misconduct of some of its chiefs; knowing, at the same time, that the personal virtues of the successors of St. Peter naturally add splendour to the Church.

In this state of things, all new researches concerning this period, from original authorities, are an addition to our historical knowledge; and we have great pleasure in bringing before the notice of our readers, the history of the Popes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, lately published by M. Ranke, Professor of History in the University of Berlin. The importance of the subject, will, we trust, justify us in giving a full account of the whole work; after which, we propose to add a few remarks on different portions of it.

Although the professed object of the work before us, is to give the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, M. Ranke has very properly commenced with an account of the Holy See in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as they form the epoch of transition from which the sixteenth century arose. In the first centuries of the middle ages, the Pope was universally acknowledged to be the common father of all Christendom; his voice was heard and obeyed among the most distant nations. This unity was injured, when the Emperor of Germany, the temporal head of Christians, began to oppose the Popes. This opposition was carried on by the Emperors of the House of Hohenstaufen; and became more serious afterwards, when, at the accession of the House of Habsburg, the emperors forgot their former elevated position, and thought only of maintaining and establishing the private power of their own families. The removal of the Holy See to Avignon, and the schisms to which it gave birth, were a mortal blow to that influence which they had hitherto exercised over every event that had taken place

throughout Christendom. The Council of Constance ended the schism; but unity was only outwardly restored. Kings and nations continued to seek their individual interests, and possessed themselves of many rights and privileges which had previously been reserved to the Popes; and those mutual notions and feelings that had formed the bond of Christians completely disappeared.

"Whoever wishes to be convinced of this, need only recall to his recollection the zeal which carried every one to the holy sepulchre in former times, and compare it with the coldness with which, in the fifteenth century, every exhortation to join in common against the Turks, was received. *Æneas Sylvius*, before the Diet of the Empire, and the friar *Capistrano* in public exhortations to the people, used every effort of eloquence to produce this union, and much has been said of the impression which they made; but still we do not find that any one took up arms in the cause. The Popes strained every nerve; one of them manned a fleet; another, *Pius II.*, the same *Æneas Sylvius*, weak and sinking into his grave, was carried to the port at which those, who were most exposed to danger, were to meet; 'he was resolved,' he said, 'to be present, and to raise up his hands to God during the battle, like *Moses*;'* but his prayers, admonitions, and example, were lost upon his contemporaries."—*Ranke*, vol. i. p. 37.

This change would naturally influence the Popes in their mode of acting. They had previously maintained their power, by exciting, at all times, the activity and energies of men in favour of the most sublime interests of humanity; and had strengthened the influence thus acquired by always leading the movement. When opposed by a powerful enemy with the sword, they were amply protected by their spiritual arms and the faith of the rest of Christians. This faith had now disappeared from amongst sovereigns and nations; and if the Popes henceforth were unwilling to become subject to every prince, who, by force of arms, could advance to Rome, they had to defend themselves by their own armies, and to maintain a force strong enough to withstand at least their ordinary opponents. On this point, let us hear *M. Ranke*:—

"Whatever may be said of the Popes in former times, it must be allowed they had in view some elevated and noble object, either to raise

* The passage alluded to by our author, occurs in the discourse entitled: "*Oratio ad Sacrum Senatum de profectione contra Turcos.*" "*Nec nos pugnaturi pergitur corpore debiles et sacerdotio fungentes, cujus non est proprium versare ferrum. Moysem illum sanctum patrem imitabimur, qui pugnante adversus Amalecitas Israele, orabat in monte. Stabimus in altâ puppe, aut in aliquo montis supercilio, habentesque ante oculos divinam Eucharistiam, id est, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, ab eo salutem et victoriam pugnantibus nostris militibus implorabimus. Cor contritum et humiliatum non despiciet Deus noster.*"—*Pii II. P. M. Orationes ed. Mansi ii. p. 178.*

an oppressed religion, to destroy paganism, to spread Christianity amongst the nations of the north, or to found a powerful and independent hierarchy. These objects had passed away with time. 'I was once of opinion,' said an orator at the Council of Basle, 'that it would be good to separate the spiritual wholly from the temporal power. But I have learned now, that virtue would be ridiculous without the aid of power, and that the Pope, without the patrimony of the Church, would be nothing more than the slave of kings and princes.'—Vol. i. p. 43.

There were two ways in which the Popes sought to obtain this power; by establishing, for the protection of their relatives, as their natural friends, an independent state, or by subjecting powerful provinces to the immediate dominion of the Church. The first plan was chiefly followed by Sixtus IV and Alexander VI; and although we are far from defending all their measures, and cannot but blame in general the use of their spiritual power for temporal ends; still, we must observe, once for all, that this conduct was quite in accordance with Italian notions at that period; and the wisest man of that age, as he was considered by his contemporaries, Lorenzo de' Medici, in a letter published by Fabroni, severely blames Pope Innocent VIII, for not having done any thing for his family during the five years that he had reigned.* Julius II, on the contrary, established a state entirely dependent on the Church. After he had subdued Cæsar Borgia, and gained by conquest, Perugia, Bologna, Parma, Placentia, &c., he left to the sway of his successors all the beautiful country, from Placentia to Terracina, for their temporal dominion, "so that the kings of France," says Machiavelli, "now respect the authority of the Pope, which formerly every petty baron was accustomed to despise."

This change in the temporal possessions of the Popes was accompanied by that other celebrated change in the minds of men, which is commonly termed the revival of learning. Until the end of the fourteenth century, Italian literature was principally founded on the manners and customs of life in the Italian States. Boccaccio presented, under the form of the novel, pictures copied from every-day life; Petrarca immortalized the sufferings of his own heart, or of his country; and Dante comprised the whole life and spirit of his age, which, clothed in his lofty and sublime conceptions, seem to have undergone a real transfiguration. The matter and style of all these works is entirely *Italian*: but, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the classic authors of antiquity become the only models. The difference, which arose in this manner, is immense. Dante, for instance, had more than an ordinary acquaintance with the classics, but still he is

* Ranke i. p. 44.

everywhere an Italian and a Christian; while the greater part of the writers of the fifteenth century endeavour, on the contrary, to appropriate to themselves the thoughts and language of antiquity. A complete incredulity, or, at least, an indifference about all holy things, was the result amongst many men of learning in Italy. In Germany, on the other hand, the study of the ancient languages produced a strong desire of penetrating far into the depths of theology, and of making a particular study of the Bible. Hence arose a spiritual opposition to the Pope, which was soon followed by the Reformation of Luther. Leo X at this period filled the Papal chair (1513-1521).

"He was full of kindness and condescension. Though it was impossible for him to grant every request, he seldom refused a favour; and then his refusal was expressed in the most gentle terms. 'The Pope is an excellent man,' said the Venetian ambassador, a close observer, 'very liberal, and of a good disposition and kind heart; and if his relatives did not force him into them, he would avoid every trouble and misunderstanding.' Another ambassador says of him, 'he is a learned lover of the learned, and very religious; but, at the same time, he enjoys life.'"—*Ranke*, i. p. 70.

This last expression explains the interest which Leo took in all the events and changes of his time.

This period is frequently designated "the age of Leo X;" and if this distinction is not due to his own merit, it must be allowed that he possessed sufficient susceptibility to stir up in others, and to feel in himself, a love for all that was most beautiful in its discoveries. "Perhaps," says M. Ranke, "this may be considered a kind of intellectual luxury; but then, it is the only luxury that gives dignity to the man who enjoys it."

During his reign, the position began to be developed which the succeeding Popes sought to occupy in the political system of Europe. The power of a secondary state consists in keeping itself in such equilibrium between the more powerful states, as to produce a decision in favour of one side or the other by its participation. This was the policy of the secondary Italian states at the time of which we write. The leading powers were France, Germany, and Spain; the two latter were united by Charles V. By the battle of Marignano, Francis I had determined the superiority in favour of France, and Leo X had been obliged to give way; but after his alliance with Charles, the Pope had the gratification of seeing the French driven out of Milan, and of obtaining, at the moment of his death, every advantage that he could desire. To Leo succeeded Adrian VI, a native of Utrecht, who had formerly been preceptor to Charles V.

"For a long time, a more deserving man had not been chosen.

Adrian bore an unsullied character ; he was trust-worthy, pious, active, and grave ; he was never seen to laugh, but a placid smile played upon his features ; still, he was full of pure and benevolent designs : in a word, he was a true ecclesiastic. What a contrast, when he took possession of the same palaces, where Leo X had held his profuse and magnificent court ! We have a letter written by him at that time, wherein he says that he would rather serve God in his cabinet at Louvain, than sit on the Papal throne. In the Vatican, he continued to live like a simple professor. One circumstance may be cited to illustrate his character. He retained the same old female servant, who continued to perform the household duties for him. In every thing else, his manner of living was the same. He rose early, said mass, and then spent his time according to a settled plan, in business or in study, which he interrupted to dine on the most simple fare. He cannot be charged with an aversion for the improvements of his time ; he admired the style of art followed in the Low Countries, and loved to see science adorned with a suitable degree of elegance. Erasmus confesses that he was protected by him from the fanatical attacks of the scholastic divines. Only, the almost heathen tendency of opinion at Rome was censured by him, and he had no desire to hear any thing of the sect of poets."—*Ranké*, i. p. 91-93.

The chief aim that he had in view was to conclude a peace between the Emperor and the King of France, and to unite these two powers against the Turks, who had lately conquered the Island of Rhodes. Besides this, he wished to reform the abuses of the Church, and of the court in particular, which were a subject of complaint even amongst many of the most zealous Catholics. Unfortunately the shortness of his reign (from January to September 1523) did not allow him to put many of his plans in execution ; and as he did not properly understand the Italian character and the former state of the Roman Court, there was nothing but disaffection in those about him.

The successor of Adrian was another of the family of the Medici,—Julius, son of Julian of Medici, who took the name of Clement VII. (1523-1534.) Under his predecessors, he had distinguished himself in the management of the most important affairs ; and his excellent qualities were also displayed during his pontificate.

" With the greatest care he kept aloof from the different mistakes into which his predecessors had fallen, and avoided the unsteadiness of purpose, profusion, and all that had been blamed in Leo X, not less than the opposition in which Adrian VI had placed himself with his court. All his conduct was regulated with the utmost prudence ; and his character was marked by uprightness and moderation ; he carefully performed the pontifical functions, and gave audiences from morning till evening with unwearied regularity ; and favoured the arts and sciences in the turn which they had taken before his reign. Clement himself was a man of learning and information. He conversed on all subjects with equal

facility, whether connected with theology or philosophy, mechanics or hydraulics. His sagacity on every occasion was more than ordinary; he penetrated into the most intricate affairs, and it was impossible to find a person that could unravel any matter with greater address."—i. p. 98.

A pontiff, possessed of such qualities, would, in less critical circumstances, have discharged the duties of his elevated station with glory to himself and advantage to the Church; but the awkward situation in which he was placed by political events, became too powerful for him. In the beginning of his reign, Clement exerted all his energies in favour of the Emperor and the Spaniards; but afterwards, when the French had been expelled from Italy, and the Spaniards began to act in a manner not less tyrannical than their late enemies, a universal spirit of nationality sprang up in the Italians, and they instantly resolved to drive from their country these haughty strangers, whom they detested and despised as semi-barbarians. To effect this would require all their efforts; and if they failed, they knew they were undone for ever. The Pope placed himself at the head of this movement, in which he was joined by the Venetians, Florentines, and the Duke of Milan.

" 'At this conjuncture,' said the Papal minister Giberto, 'we have not to talk of a petty revenge, of a point of honour, or of a single city; this war is to decide on the freedom or slavery of Italy for ever.' Their success was not equal to their hopes; and the war against the Spaniards was the boldest and most aspiring, but, at the same time, the most unfortunate and dangerous plan that the Pope ever formed."—i. p. 102-104.

To secure his power in Germany, the Emperor's brother entered into a treaty with the Protestants at the very moment when the Pope's troops were entering Lombardy: in the decision of the Diet of Spires (1526), the Pope was not even mentioned, and each one was allowed to act with regard to religion in the way best pleasing to God and to the Emperor; or, in other words, the Protestant principle was openly proclaimed. In Italy itself there was no unity amongst the allies; and to this day it is doubtful whether their general, the Duke of Urbino, was more a coward or a traitor. The whole weight of these evils fell upon the Pope. The taking of Rome by the imperial troops, on the 6th of May, 1527 (usually called the *sacco di Roma*), destroyed all the splendour for which it had been admired since the middle of the preceding century. At last, when the Pope began to despair of a successful turn in his affairs, and when his family had been banished from Florence, he came to a treaty with the Emperor, but it did not lead to a sincere reconciliation. The settlement of religious differences, and the disputes about summoning a council, which the Pope had no desire to assemble in

these circumstances, inclined him to unite with France, an alliance which unfortunately secured to the Protestants too much favour with the Emperor. The last years of his reign were also embittered by the apostacy of Henry VIII, still greater troubles threatened Italy, and Clement died of chagrin and sorrow.

He was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, who took the name of Paul III, (1534-1549.) The new Pope had been educated in the worldly notions and manners of the age of the Medici; partly at Rome under Pomponius Lætus, and partly at Florence, in the gardens of Lorenzi de' Medici. He loved and cherished the fine arts, and, before he entered the ecclesiastical state, his conduct was not free from irregularities. During the forty years that he was cardinal, he distinguished himself by his activity and address. During his pontificate, he had three great objects in view, to promote an alliance between the Emperor and the King of France, in order to induce them afterwards to undertake an expedition against the Turks; to reform abuses in the Church, without lessening the authority of the Holy See; and lastly, to augment the temporal power of the ecclesiastical state and of his own family. Although he did not succeed in all his designs, still his pontificate is one of the most remarkable reigns throughout this history. He succeeded from time to time in interrupting the war, by making peace between Charles V and Francis I,—he brought about the opening of the Council of Trent,—and the Farnese family was raised to the rank of independent princes. The close of his life was not equally fortunate; he was hardly able to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor; the council was transferred and suspended, and his grand-children rebelled against him. The grief occasioned by this revolt hastened his death.

Julius III, of the family of Del Monte, who succeeded (1550-1555), sought to avoid any misunderstanding with the Emperor. He immediately reopened the Council of Trent, and exerted all his influence to restore peace to Italy. But the hatred of the French King, Henry II, towards the Emperor, and his alliance with the Protestants in Germany, and with the Farnese family in Italy, were a death-blow to his hopes. The Council dispersed and fled at the approach of the army of Maurice of Saxony, and even in Italy the Emperor and the Pope were obliged to yield to France. From this time, the Pope laid aside all political concerns, and gave himself up entirely to ecclesiastical interests, amidst which his only relaxation was to attend to the construction of that delightful villa, situated out of the *Porta del Popolo* at Rome, and called to this day the Villa of Pope Julius.

After the short interregnum of Marcellus II, (1555) of whom

his contemporaries say that the world was not worthy to possess him, Paul IV, of the family of Caraffa, ascended the Papal throne,—a man who, at the age of seventy-nine, retained all the vigour and fire of youth (1555-1559).

"His figure was of commanding height, but slender; his step was quick, and his body seemed all sinew. As he followed no fixed system of life, sleeping often during the day, and transacting business at night,—woe to the servant who entered his room without being called,—he always acted from the impulse of the moment. But these impulses were governed in him by a conviction entertained throughout the progress of a life of more than ordinary length, and settled down into a second nature. He seemed to know no other duty, and to think of no other occupation, but to restore the ancient Catholic faith, with the influence that it had possessed in former ages. What might not be expected from Paul IV, when raised to the highest dignity, who had never yielded to worldly respect, and whose opinions had always been marked by extreme severity? As he had never done any favours to the cardinals, and as he had ever displayed the utmost rigour, he himself was astonished at his election. He was convinced that he had been chosen, not by the cardinals, but by Almighty God, to execute this design. 'We promise and swear,' said the new Pope, in the bull by which he took possession of his dignity, 'truly and sincerely to take every care that the reformation of the Church and of the Roman court shall be accomplished.' He rendered the day of his accession famous by publishing edicts respecting convents and religious orders."—i. p. 280-281.

Besides this ecclesiastical zeal, the Pope had no other passion except his hatred against the Emperor Charles V. The Emperor he hated, as a Neapolitan, as an Italian, as a Catholic, and as Pope. He was persuaded that the Emperor, who had frequently offended him, secretly favoured the Protestants. Moreover, he could not forget Italy in his younger days, when she was free and independent, and he loved to liken her to a musical instrument with four strings, which represented Venice, Milan, the Ecclesiastical States, and Naples. The Caraffa family had always been attached to the French cause, and had borne arms against the people of Castile and Catalonia. The Emperor had already been several times discomfited in Germany, Italy, and the Low Countries; and the time when he was suffering most from these misfortunes, seemed to the Pope the most favourable moment for putting his plans in execution.

"He said the time was come when Charles and his son were to receive the punishment due to their sins, and the deliverance of Italy would soon be accomplished. If the world would not hear or would not assist him, let it at least say but once that it was an old Italian on the brink of the grave, who ought rather to seek repose and prepare for death, who had formed such noble designs and conceived such lofty ideas."—i. p. 285.

But the war was unsuccessful, notwithstanding his alliance with France; and the Duke of Alba, the Spanish general, concluded a peace at the gates of Rome.

The Pope spent the rest of his life in working out his plans of reformation, in which his own family was not spared. "He had promoted his brother's sons to the highest honours, not from selfishness or affection for his own family; but, as his nephews entertained his own hatred of the Spaniards, he considered them his natural supporters in the war." (i. p. 297.) When he discovered their incapacity, he deprived them of their offices, and sent all his relatives into banishment. He used every effort to reform abuses, and to preserve the purity of faith with all possible severity,—a severity which underwent no change, even when it had produced disastrous results, as in the affairs of England, and the transactions with the new Emperor Ferdinand I.

The succeeding Pope, Pius IV, of the Milanese branch of the Medici (1559-1565), was of a different disposition. He was all kindness and condescension. "He might be seen daily in the public places on horseback or on foot, with scarcely any attendants. He was affable to all." (i. p. 317.) The same difference was visible in political concerns.

"Paul IV was persuaded that it was the duty of the Pope to subject emperors and kings to his authority, and this conviction made him engage in so many wars and contests. Pius saw this error the more clearly from having been himself in opposition to the Pope who had fallen into it. 'It is thus,' said he, 'that we have lost England, which might have been saved if we had given more aid and support to Cardinal Pole; in the same manner we have lost Scotland; and during the war, the new opinions have penetrated into France.' Pius, on the contrary, wished to preserve peace above every thing, and did not even desire that a war should be undertaken against the Protestants."—i. p. 323.

The Pope frequently repeated, in familiar conversations with the Venetian ambassador, that he trusted he should be able to employ his forces for the advantage of the Church, and he hoped, with the assistance of God, to bring about much good. In fact, he reopened the Council of Trent, and succeeded in bringing it to a conclusion, an event which has rendered his pontificate one of the most glorious in the Church.

Pius IV was advanced in years, and could not have undergone so much labour, if he had not been supported by his nephew the great St. Charles Borromeo. The Pope, who had caused some of the relatives of his predecessor to be executed for their crimes, saw the danger of favouring his nephew in an immoderate degree; and, fortunately, St. Charles never sought any personal advancement.

"Charles Borromeo did not consider that his relationship with the Pope, or his position in the government of the Church, allowed him any privilege or indulgence; on the contrary, he held them as a motive of duty that called for every sacrifice at his hands. In the management of affairs, his modesty was not less remarkable than his assiduity; he gave audiences with unremitting attention, and dedicated all his time to the administration of state affairs. After his death, his name was inserted in the Calendar of the Saints; but even while at the head of affairs, he was noble-minded and of irreproachable life. The Venetian ambassador, Jerome Soranzo, speaks of him in the following terms. 'As far as can be known by man, he is free from every defect; he lives in so religious a manner, and gives such good example, that even the most perfect find nothing wanting in him.' His only recreation was to assemble the learned about him in the evening. The conversation began with topics of profane literature; but from Epictetus and the Stoics, whom Borromeo in his youth did not disregard, the company soon passed to ecclesiastical subjects."—*Ranke*, i. p. 321.

The highly religious turn which we have observed in the reigns of Paul IV and Pius IV, reached its height under Pius V, of the Ghisleri family (1566-1572). This Pope had entered into a monastery at the age of fourteen, and was distinguished by his piety and zeal in the performance of his ecclesiastical functions. When raised to the Papal dignity, he persevered in the same line of conduct.

"As Pope, he followed the same rigorous kind of life that had been prescribed by his former monastic rule; he observed the fasts without any relaxation; he said mass often, and heard it every day, and took care not to allow his religious exercises to interfere with public affairs; did not repose after dinner, and rose early. To prove that these severities with himself were grounded on strong and sincere motives, we may remark, that he did not consider the possession of the highest dignity in the Church at all favourable to piety, or of any service towards saving his soul, or gaining the rewards of Paradise; and he thought that, without prayer, the burden of it would be wholly insupportable. The grace of fervent prayer, the only thing in which he took delight, was vouchsafed to him till the hour of his death; during his devotions he was frequently moved to tears, and he rose then from them with the conviction that God had listened to his request. Pius V knew that he had always walked in the right road, and that by it he had been led to the Papacy. This knowledge gave him a confidence that raised him above all worldly considerations."—i. p. 355.

The Pope endeavoured everywhere to introduce his own severe notions, and began with Rome itself.

"The reformation of the court, which had been so often talked of, was now effected, but not in the way formerly proposed. The expenses of the household were considerably reduced; Pius V needed but little, and he was accustomed to say that a man who wished to govern, should begin

with himself. He imitated his predecessors in reforming abuses; he allowed few dispensations, and still fewer compositions; he retrenched many indulgences granted by the Popes before him."—i. p. 358.

He treated with great severity all non-resident bishops and curates,—restored the ancient discipline in the convents,—and placed them in part under the inspection of the bishops. Severe and impartial justice marked every act of his temporal administration. On the last Wednesday in each month, a court was held by him and his cardinals, to which every one might bring his appeals from the ordinary tribunals. His disregard of human respect, and his irreproachable conduct, gained him the obedience of the Catholic sovereigns. Still, his reign did not pass without some misunderstandings and differences. Wherever the new doctrines appeared, they were cut off in the bud by the Inquisition. The Pope succeeded at last in inducing the Italian States and the King of Spain to join in an expedition against the Turks, which was gloriously ended by the victory of Lepanto.

"When Pius V felt the approach of death, he visited once more the seven churches of Rome, to take leave, as he said, of the holy places; he thrice kissed the lowest steps of the holy stairs. He had promised on one occasion that he would employ not only the property of the Church, even the crosses and chalices, but also to join in person in an expedition against England. During his visit to the churches, he met some English Catholics who had been exiled from their country, to whom he declared he would gladly shed his blood for their sake."—i. p. 373.

During the reigns of Pius IV and Pius V, Catholicism acquired fresh strength, and reached the position which it has since held with regard to Protestantism. Clement VII had been too much embarrassed with political difficulties to be able to effect a reformation of the abuses that had crept into the Church. The first act of Paul III, was to give the cardinal's hat to several persons of eminence, without considering any qualification but their merit. "They were men of unblameable morals, bore a character for piety and profound learning, and were well acquainted with the wants of different countries." Pole was one of them. "The Pope granted them liberty of speech, in a greater degree than was customary; he could endure opposition from them in Consistory, and he himself introduced free discussion." (vol. i. p. 145, 239.) These cardinals composed a congregation to reform abuses,—an undertaking in which they displayed great activity. Attempts were made at the same time to produce a reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants in Germany. But in spite of many conferences, resumed as often as interrupted,—and although, by the exertions of the nuncio Contarini, both sides had come to an agreement on several

important points, at the diet of Ratisbon in 1541,—the separation between the members of the two creeds, daily became wider.

Meanwhile, Protestantism had extended over a larger space of country; but Catholicism gained in the increased intensity of its powers, whatever it might lose in extent of territory. We must here mention three institutions, which powerfully contributed to this increase of strength; the new religious orders, the Inquisition, and the Council of Trent.

At all periods of greater anxiety to the Church, new religious orders, adapted to her actual wants, have sprung up. Hence the rise of the order of St. Benedict, in the sixth century, and of those of St. Francis and St. Dominic in the thirteenth. Already, under Clement VII (1522,) the Camaldolese had been reformed by Paul Giustiniani; and the reformed Franciscans, generally called the Capuchins, had endeavoured to restore the rigorous discipline, for which their order was distinguished during the life-time of their founder. The order of the Theatines, in the foundation of which, Paul IV, while cardinal, had taken a very active part, was intended to be of service in reforming the secular clergy. We need not mention other religious orders, such as the Barnabites, whose only objects were to relieve and assist the sick or the miserable, by care, alms, or religious instruction. But all these orders were soon surpassed in importance and influence by the Society of Jesus, whose rule was expressly suited to the peculiar necessities of the times. M. Ranke speaks of it in the following terms:—

“This also was an association of regular priests, the basis of which was a union of the duties of both monks and priests, but it was very different from all bodies formed on a like plan. The Theatines had already laid aside several of the obligations prescribed to the monastic orders; the Jesuits went still farther. They were not content with not wearing the monastic habit; they discontinued the usual public exercises of devotion, and the duty of singing in choir, which took up the larger portion of the time in other religious communities. Thus, freed from these less necessary occupations, they dedicated all their time and all their talents to the essential duties of preaching, confession, and the instruction of youth.”—vol. i. p. 193.

The secret of their power and influence lay in their obedience and entire devotedness to the objects of the society. The schools of the Jesuits soon surpassed all others; they adopted a systematic plan of instruction, and we owe to them the division of the scholars into different classes. They paid the same attention to the morals of their pupils, and gave instruction as well as spiritual assistance gratuitously, without asking for recompense or alms. Their success was wonderful, and, in a few years, colleges under

their direction were built in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and even in the colonies beyond the Atlantic.

The Roman Inquisition was established when the germs of heterodox opinions about the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic religion began to appear in different parts of Italy. The cardinals of Toledo and Caraffa advised Paul III to establish the Inquisition at Rome, in imitation of the one already existing in Spain, as a supreme tribunal in matters of faith, to which all similar institutions in other countries should be subordinate. This plan was carried into execution in 1542. The Inquisition was, of course, more severe in the States of the Church, where it could be supported by the secular power; still its power was felt in a considerable degree in other parts of Italy and in Spain. The principles laid down for the guidance of this tribunal by Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV) were, "That in matters of religious faith no concessions must be allowed to the circumstances of the time; that on the slightest suspicion, the greatest activity must be resorted to; that there must be no distinction out of respect to princes or prelates, however elevated their position, but, on the contrary, the Inquisition should proceed with greater rigour against those who should attempt to screen themselves under the protection of any powerful patron, and only he who had confessed his fault, should be treated with lenity and paternal love; finally, the tribunal must not tolerate Protestants, and especially Calvinists." (i. p. 207.) The Inquisition guarded most carefully against dangerous books, and ordered all those to be destroyed which contained heretical doctrines.

But the most important organ for augmenting and concentrating the power of the Church was the Council of Trent, by which all the doctrines contested by the Protestants were so clearly defined, that no farther disputes could arise amongst Catholics about the meaning of them. The canons of the council formed a rallying point for the Catholics of all countries. The excellent measures for correcting abuses, proposed by it were no less salutary. Pius IV and Pius V, caused the canons to be adopted in all the Catholic kingdoms, and procured the execution of several decrees, such as the publication of the *Roman Catechism* and the *Vulgate*, which the council had recommended to the care of the Pope.

Under the same Popes, the temporal power took a position different from that in which we have hitherto observed it. The superiority of the Spaniards in Italy was so well established, that all rivalry with them would have been useless. The influence of the Ecclesiastical State, as a political power, was at an

end; but it now became an auxiliary to the spiritual power of the Popes, especially by means of the immense sums of money that they drew from it. The financial system, followed by the Popes, had considerable influence, not only on the political concerns of that period, but likewise on the political economy of all Europe.

In the Middle Ages, the system of banks and letters of exchange chiefly owed its origin to the circumstance, that in every part of Europe, there were ecclesiastical revenues to be sent to Rome. In like manner, the system of national debts was first introduced by the Popes. The chief means of raising money, at first, was, at Rome as in France, to create new offices, to sell them afterwards. The purchasers had to receive the interest of their capital out of the fees of the Roman Courts. The duties attached to their office were trifling. This method of procuring supplies was soon found inadequate, because, just at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the ecclesiastical revenues were considerably diminished by the encroachments of princes and by the rise of Protestantism. The plan was then resorted to of establishing officers, whose salaries should be chargeable on the revenues of the ecclesiastical state which had lately been formed. By law, these posts did not descend to the heirs of the first occupier, at whose death the government would gain the purchase money paid by him. On this account, these loans were termed "*monti vacabili*." Clement VII was the first Pope who made a loan to the amount of two hundred thousand ducats at ten per cent. interest, which descended to the heirs of the original proprietor. To pay this interest, the revenues of the customs were made over to the holders of the loan, who had a certain share in the administration of them. But the first direct contribution was demanded by Paul III, under the name of a "subsidy," which, originally, was fixed for only three years, but was always renewed at the expiration of each term. Succeeding Popes were obliged to make other direct loans, and to raise new imposts to pay the interest of them. By these means, the Popes were better provided than any other sovereigns in Europe with money, with which they aided all the undertakings set on foot by the Catholics.

"What then were the wants that compelled the Popes to adopt a way of making loans—so singular and so expensive to their own territories? They were chiefly the wants of Catholicism in general. The assistance given to the Catholic powers in their wars against the Protestants, and in their enterprises against the Turks, were, henceforth, nearly always the principal cause that obliged the Popes to have recourse to new financial measures. The loan (*monte*) of Pius V, is called "*monte*

Lega," because the capital of it was employed to carry on the war against the Turks, which the Pope undertook in *league* with Spain and the republic of Venice. Every movement throughout Europe had an influence, in the same way, on the States of the Church, which, by some new impost, had to contribute to the defence of the interests of the Church. For this reason, it was of the highest consequence to the spiritual power of the Popes that they should possess an independent state."—i. p. 414.

From this digression, let us return to the succession of the Popes. To Pius V, succeeded Gregory XIII, of the Buoncampagno family, (1572-1585), who was not unworthy of his predecessors. Like Pius V, he was careful not to show any extraordinary favour to his relatives. On one occasion, when a cardinal, who had been just raised to the purple, told him that he should always be grateful to the relatives and nephews of his holiness, the Pope exclaimed impatiently, "you should be grateful to God and the Holy See." He fulfilled no less exactly the other duties of his station.

"His conduct was not only irreproachable, but edifying. Never did any Pope perform certain duties more carefully than Gregory. He had lists of persons in every country, who were fit for the Episcopal dignity: and, on every proposition that was made to him, he appeared to be well-informed."—i. p. 422.

Above all things, he was attentive to the instruction of youth, and was particularly favourable to the Society of Jesus. He founded for them, colleges at Rome and in other countries. He established colleges in that capital for the English, German, and other nations, which produced many zealous defenders of the Church. Amongst his reformatations, that of the Calendar is the most celebrated. He, likewise, aided the Catholics in all their wars against the Turks and the Protestants with considerable subsidies.

The sums expended in the education of youth, amounted to two millions of crowns during his pontificate. To cover this enormous expenditure, he endeavoured to augment his revenues by reclaiming the ancient rights and possessions of the Holy See. These attempts were successful at first, but they soon became a source of many disorders. Old family feuds were rekindled, troops of brigands destroyed the public security, and were countenanced by the neighbouring states, whom the Pope had exasperated by claiming the former rights of the Church.

In the midst of these troubles, Gregory XIII died, and was succeeded by Sixtus V, of the Peretti family, (1585-1590.) He was the son of a peasant, and although elevated to the Papal throne at such a critical period, he possessed talents equal to the arduous task of putting an end to all disorders.

We regret that we have not room for the whole of M. Ranke's account of the life of Sixtus V before his election; we may, however, remark, that he has proved from authentic documents, that the story so often told about the manner in which Sixtus V gained his election by feigning a weak state of health, is wholly destitute of foundation, and, on the contrary, that the cardinals chose him because he was full of strength and vigour,—qualities that were indispensable in the existing posture of affairs. The Pope saw in his election a special call from God, and took for his motto; "From my birth, thou, O God, hast been my protector." He was persuaded, that in all his undertakings, he had the particular favour of Providence. When he mounted the throne, he declared his firm determination to extirpate all brigands and violators of the laws. If he had not sufficient power to effect this, God, he said, would assuredly send legions of angels to assist him.—(i. p. 445.)

He, in fact, succeeded. By well-planned measures, and by the unrelenting execution of justice, he exterminated the banditti in the first year of his reign. He conciliated other sovereigns by yielding to them on trivial and unimportant points; he composed the differences between the barons, and sought to increase, by every means in his power, the internal wealth of his dominions. He undertook to drain the Chiana near Orvieto and the Pontine marshes, and encouraged manufactures of silk and wool, by edicts and advances of money. He established congregations to regulate and administer to the various wants of the Church and State, and his administration has been the model on which his successors have proceeded. The same remark is applicable to his conduct towards his relatives. The successors of Paul IV, had shown little favour to the members of their own families; and Pius V had made a severe law, by which no Pope could alienate a province of the Church to form an independent state for his family. Sixtus V raised one of his nephews to the dignity of cardinal, and the other to that of marquis, giving him, at the same time, a suitable estate. Most of the Popes down to Pius VII, followed his example.

Amongst his contemporaries, he was most celebrated for his administration of the finances. At his accession, the treasury was empty, and, within three years, he amassed four millions and a half of crowns of silver, which he deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo, to be used only in particular emergencies, such as for a crusade to recover the Holy Land;—a general war against the Turks;—in times of famine or pestilence;—to repel an invasion of the States of the Church;—to recover a city belonging to the Holy See;—or when any Catholic province might be in danger

of falling into the hands of an enemy. (i. p. 462.) It is to be lamented, that this sum, so considerable in those days, had been collected on the same financial system formerly pursued, by creating new offices and raising fresh taxes to pay the interest of loans. The Pope was as sparing as possible, confining the expenses of his own table to six paoli, about half-a-crown a-day.

The city of Rome owes its present appearance and form to Sixtus V. It was only by the construction of the new aqueduct, of *Acqua Felice*, that the Pincian, Quirinal, and Esquiline hills were rendered habitable. He raised several obelisks, and there is scarcely any part of the city which he did not adorn with vast and noble edifices. The cupola of St. Peter's was completed in twenty-two months.

The Pontificate of Sixtus V was rendered glorious by the victories gained over Protestantism. During the last years of the Council of Trent (1563), Protestantism had been most widely spread. England and the Scandinavian kingdoms had been made wholly Protestant, or, at least, the Catholic religion had lost all its political influence. In Poland and Hungary, the Protestants had possessed themselves of all the principal offices. In Germany, one of the Venetian ambassadors said, that only the tenth part of the kingdom had remained faithful to the Catholic Church; the rest had become Protestants, or had fallen into utter indifference about matters of faith. In France and the Low Countries, the doctrines of Calvin had spread in every direction from their central point at Geneva. Even in 1561, the Venetian ambassador declared, that not a single province of France was free from Protestantism. "Your grace," he said to the Doge, "may be assured that, except the lower classes, who still frequent the churches, all the nation has apostatized, especially the nobles and the young men under forty years of age, almost without exception."

This victorious progress of Protestantism was arrested by the increased activity of the Church, and the renewed zeal of the Catholic sovereigns. The Society of Jesus gathered the most glorious trophies in this contest. Their arrival in a Protestant province, was the signal for the restoration of the Catholic faith. This happened particularly in Germany, the cradle of the Reformation. Vienna, Ingolstadt, and Cologne, were the headquarters of the Jesuits, and the seats of their principal colleges. The sciences were so well cultivated in them, that they soon rivalled Geneva, Wittemberg, and Jena, and their system of elementary instruction was in such repute, that even the Protestants sent their children to them. As the Protestants had been successful by frequent appeals to the people, the Jesuits used the same

plan in behalf of Catholicism, by preaching, catechizing, and founding schools for gratuitously instructing the poor, (ii. p. 25, et seq.) Protestantism was chiefly, in Germany, combated by means of science and instruction; and, on this account, there were fewer outrages committed by either party, than in the Low Countries, and in France. We cannot enter at present into the history of the Reformation of France, of the League, of the death of Henry III, and the accession of Henry IV. It is sufficient to remark, that the Popes, and especially Sixtus V, favoured the League, until Henry IV declared his desire of returning to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Sixtus V was prevented by death from ending this war.

In England alone the Catholic religion had not made much progress. Gregory XIII had reckoned on the multitude of Catholics oppressed by the government of Elizabeth* in England and Ireland, when he assisted with supplies of money Thomas Stukley, an Englishman, who misapplied the money, and joined in the expedition of Don Sebastian of Portugal against Africa; and the Geraldine in Ireland, whose undertaking led to such disastrous results in 1579.

"The English punished this rebellion with the most cruel severities: men and women were driven into barns and there burnt to death; the children were slaughtered, and the whole county of Monmouth was devastated."—ii. p. 87.

On the failure of this attempt, the Pope endeavoured to reconquer England, or, at least, to preserve the faith of the Catholics, who yet remained, by spiritual means; and he assisted Cardinal Allen in establishing a College for the English nation at Doway; another was founded at Rome. Elizabeth enacted the most rigorous laws against the Catholics, and to prevent the growth of their religion, adopted measures which M. Ranke justly terms, "a kind of Protestant inquisition." The persecution of the Catholics, the death of Mary Stuart, and differences with Philip II, were the causes of the Spanish expedition against England. Sixtus V promised the king a million of crowns, as soon as he should have seized one of the English ports. The fate of the Armada is well known. It was the death-blow to the power of the Spaniards. The reigns of the three next successors of Sixtus

* M. Ranke (ii. p. 86, note 1.) publishes the following fragment of a contemporary Italian discourse on the state of Ireland. "The queen's government in that country is declared to be a tyranny, which abandons the management of affairs to English ministers, who, to enrich themselves, employ all the arts of tyranny in that country, such as exporting the products and commodities of it to England, taxing the people against their ancient laws and privileges, and keeping up war and factions amongst the inhabitants,—because the English are unwilling that they should learn the difference between slavery and freedom."

V, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, and Innocent IX, were too short to allow them time to acquire sufficient influence over the affairs of Europe. It was reserved for Clement VIII, of the Aldobrandini family (1592-1605), to put an end to the civil war, by the activity with which he discharged the duties of the pontificate.

"The Pope held sittings in the morning, and gave audiences in the afternoon. He received and examined all informations; and not unfrequently was better instructed about them than the referendaries who brought the matters forward. He laboured with the same application as he had formerly done, while judge of the Rota (the supreme tribunal of justice). In the midst of these affairs, he was never guilty of the slightest neglect in his spiritual duties. He confessed every evening to Cardinal Baronius, and celebrated mass every morning. He fasted every Friday and Saturday. His recreation, after the labours of the week, was to assemble on Sunday, some pious monks, or the fathers of the convent of the Vallicella (the Oratorians), to converse with them on spiritual matters."—ii. p. 234.

He granted absolution to Henry IV, as soon as he had given sufficient pledges that he would uphold the Catholic religion in France. He then terminated the war between Spain and France, by the peace of Vervins (May 2, 1598). When his nuncio had succeeded in obtaining from the Spaniards the restitution of their conquests in France, and in inducing Henry to break off his alliance with the Low Countries and England, he declared "that the pope, his master, would take more pleasure in the success of this negotiation than in the taking of Ferrara, for a peace that should restore tranquillity to Europe would be more regarded by him than any temporal conquest."—ii. p. 307.

This was the most glorious action of his reign, and during the rest of his life he succeeded in preserving the balance between these two powers.

Clement VIII was succeeded by Leo XI, who reigned only a few weeks, and then by Paul V, of the Borghese family (1605-1621), who had kept aloof from political affairs, and spent the chief part of his life in the study and practice of the Canon Law. All the ancient rights of the popes were deeply fixed in his mind, and as he had been elected to the popedom without having sought for it, he believed himself destined by Almighty God to re-establish the rights and powers that the popes had lost; and he was accustomed to say "that his conscience obliged him to deliver the Church from the usurpation and violence from which she had suffered, and that he would rather risk his life than have to answer one day before the throne of God for the neglecting of any one of his duties."—ii. p. 324.

Guided by these principles, Paul V sought to recover from the

several princes of Europe the ancient rights of the Church, that were exercised by them. Spain and Savoy gave way on several points, but his disputes with the republic of Venice caused the famous schism in 1606, which was not ended without some injury to the pontifical authority, although the Venetians had apparently withdrawn their pretensions on some of the matters in question.

Meanwhile, the progress of the Catholic religion in Protestant countries had been on the increase. In Poland, where, in 1573, liberty of conscience had been proclaimed, and where, in 1579, payment of the tithes had been suspended, new troubles had broken out, but the king's troops were victorious over the Protestants, and the political malcontents with whom they were in alliance (1607). From that time, the most important places were held by Catholics, the papal nuncios provided for the election of men of merit to the episcopal dignity, and the duty of preaching to the people, and directing the instruction of youth, was intrusted to the Society of Jesus. Hopes had likewise been entertained that the Catholic religion would be introduced into Sweden by its lawful king Sigmond, at that time king of Poland; but Protestantism had become too deeply rooted, and the king was not sufficiently powerful to snatch the reins of government from his Protestant uncle. Even in Russia, which the Popes had in vain so often endeavoured to convert to Catholicity, there were favourable prospects, which were soon dissipated when the pseudo-Demetrius was dethroned. In Germany the gradual restoration of the Catholic faith, already mentioned, had continued; particularly in the ecclesiastical states, the proprietors of which had exercised, to a great extent, their seignorial rights, in compelling their dependents to adopt the religion of their choice. The alliance of the Protestant princes, known by the name of the "Union" was formed to oppose the encroachments of Catholicism, but it was more than counterbalanced by the "League" of the Catholic princes, under the auspices of the Duke of Bavaria. In France, the Protestants had little political influence; the temporal power was no longer employed against them, but the Catholic Church was most active in bringing her internal resources into the field. It was the age of Berulle, of St. Francis of Sales, of St. Vincent of Paul, and their illustrious followers; the order of the Ursulines was founded to assist in the instruction of youth of the other sex; the nuns of the order of St. Francis of Sales gave themselves up to the care of the sick; the Brothers of Mercy were established for the same heroic purpose; the congregation of St. Maur watched over the instruction of the children of the nobility, and laboured to revive the study of the history and antiquities of the Church.

The progress of Catholicism, which we have described, and

the political differences that were connected with it, led to the last decisive contest between the two creeds,—the famous Thirty Years' War. Throughout the first half of the war, the Catholic cause was everywhere victorious; indeed, this was the epoch during which it possessed more power than it had enjoyed since the time of the Reformation.

Paul V died immediately after he had received the news of the victory at Prague. His successor, Gregory XV, of the Ludovisi family (1621-1623), was advanced in age and declining in health, but his nephew, Cardinal Lewis Ludovisi, who was at the head of affairs, and whom his very enemies acknowledged to be one of the first statesmen of his age, guarded the interests of religion with all the zeal and energy of his powerful mind. In Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary, the Catholic was restored as the only religion of the state; in the Germanic empire, it had acquired additional influence by the transfer of the Electorate of Pfalz to the duke of Bavaria. The activity of the missionaries and bishops in the Low Countries made a daily increase in the number of Catholics. Even in England the cause of religion was not hopeless, as the hereditary prince Charles was on the point of marrying a princess of Spain. At the same time the Catholic religion had been extensively propagated in America, China, and Japan. All these efforts radiated from a common centre at Rome, where the Pope had increased the College of Propaganda on a plan sufficient to comprise all the nations of the world.

Once more, these successes of Catholicism were arrested. After the victories which Tilly and Wallenstein had gained over the king of Denmark, the emperor had no enemy to fear in Germany, and his power was greater than that of Charles V after the battle of Mühlberg. Negotiations were commenced to effect a reconciliation between the two religions. All the ecclesiastical property seized by the Protestants since the peace of Passau was to be restored to the Catholics. France laid aside for a moment her hatred against Spain, and even joined in alliance with her to attack England. Although Buckingham made war against them by assisting the Protestants in France, he could not save the fortress of Rochelle, which was the last support of the Protestant power. Nothing but divisions in the Catholic camp put a stop to these successes.

Cardinal Richelieu, who at that time governed France, had formed a plan for reducing the power of Spain and Austria, with the aid of the Protestants; but the remonstrances of the Pope and the Catholics had obliged him to abandon it (1625). He resumed it after the taking of Rochelle, and a favourable opportunity soon presented itself for putting it into execution. The last

duke of Mantua had died without leaving any direct issue ; and, as his lawful heir, the duke of Nevers was devoted to the interests of France, no doubt was entertained that the emperor and the Spanish court would refuse to admit his claim. He, therefore, took possession of the duchy, without sending any previous notice to the emperor, or the king of Spain, who forthwith declared war against him.

Unhappily, Gregory XV was now dead. He had gained the entire confidence of the Catholics in political no less than spiritual affairs. His successor was Urban VIII, of the Barberini family (1623-1644). He was a man of distinguished talents and ability, and his superiority was allowed by his colleagues in the several ecclesiastical offices which he had filled. On the throne, he departed from the principles that had guided his predecessors, who, on their accession, had generally laid aside their private views, and devoted their whole attention to the propagation and preservation of Catholicism, and had made political negotiations subservient to these primary interests. Urban VIII, on the contrary, who entertained a high opinion of his own talents, and was young and vigorous at the period of his elevation, was led away by his personal inclinations. He retained his former antipathy to the Spaniards, and his predilection for the French. Moreover, as Urban was anxious to increase the temporal power of the States of the Church, and to destroy the power of the Spaniards in Italy, he was induced to favour the designs of Richelieu.

The Emperor's successes did not immediately cease. The restitution of ecclesiastical property was enforced with greater exactness,—an army had entered the Low Countries to assist the Spaniards,—another had forced a passage into Italy through the defiles of Switzerland. Richelieu could not but observe that France, by herself, was not powerful enough to oppose a barrier to the Emperor ; and as England was distracted by internal divisions, he endeavoured to form an alliance with the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, who, in spite of several defeats, had continued the war single-handed against the King of Poland. The Cardinal negotiated an armistice between Sweden and Poland, and afterwards concluded, in the summer of 1630, an alliance with the former, by which the King of France obliged himself to pay subsidies to the King, who, on his part, was to bring troops into the field against the emperor. Even in Germany, the French were aided by the opposition which the Catholic princes maintained against the power of the emperor, who was obliged to give way before it in the Diet of Ratisbon. Ferdinand II destroyed his formidable army by withdrawing the

command from Wallenstein, the most skilful of his generals, and restored all his conquests in Italy.

Gustavus Adolphus pushed his victories into the centre of Germany, and the latter part of the Thirty Years' War is chiefly remarkable for the defeats suffered by the Catholics. After the year 1630, the influence of religion and the Church almost wholly disappeared, and political interests alone prevailed in the great events of Europe. By this change, the Popes lost their influence over the policy of Europe.

We here close our analysis; for, although M. Ranke has brought down his history to Pius VII, this latter part of his work is a mere outline, from which an extract could hardly be made. We trust, however, that we shall have another opportunity of recurring to several important passages in it, such as the history of Jansenism,—the administration of the ecclesiastical state, and the history of the Society of Jesus.

Having completed the first part of our task, it is now our duty to make a few observations on the spirit in which the work before us has been written, and the manner in which facts contained in it have been recorded by the author.

The principles by which he has been guided are expressly laid down by M. Ranke in his Preface (p. xv.) He excludes all prejudice or predilection as to the Holy See, and views the history of the Popes not with the eyes of a theologian or a canonist, but only as a portion of universal history, in which he principally directs his attention to the influence of the Popes over the states of Europe, and the reaction of the exercise of it upon themselves. We meet, therefore, with no such invectives against the Popes as Protestant theologians amongst his countrymen are daily publishing; still less does he raise a cry of "No Popery;" because, he avows an opinion that the danger that called forth that cry is no longer formidable. He considers the history of the Popes in a purely *political* point of view, which he terms *more purely historical* than that hitherto taken by Catholic or Protestant writers. But, if we reflect that history should never lose sight of its leading object, we can scarcely concur in the opinion here expressed. It is true that the really spiritual element in the Church stands isolated from any political connexion or dependence. Their relation to each other is like that which subsists between the soul and the body; the historian, therefore, of the Church, who confines his attention to political events, passes over an essential part of his duty, and his method is not less prejudicial to history, than the rules of hermeneutical interpretation followed by the rationalists have been to the Bible. How, for instance, can the reader form a just notion of the conduct of the Popes since the Refor-

mation, when that event is never mentioned save where it appears in connexion with state policy; and its author, Luther, is spoken of only once or twice, as if by accident. (i. pp. 77, 183.) We do not for a moment deny that the Popes, during the first part of the sixteenth century, allowed themselves to be swayed in too great a degree by political considerations; but we must, at the same time, bear in mind the necessity, which has been more clearly established by M. Ranke than by any preceding historian, of some temporal power being possessed by the Popes to insure the freer exercise of their spiritual power. Even in this case, therefore, the policy of the Popes was not solely directed by temporal views. Farther, would this necessity itself warrant us in referring all the actions of the Popes, even those that are of themselves wholly ecclesiastical, to temporal motives? And, how could such an attribution of motives be reconciled with the fact, that these very Popes employed, in ecclesiastical affairs of the greatest consequence, the cardinals who were most distinguished for learning and piety, and on whom M. Ranke bestows such exalted and such well-deserved encomiums? (i. pp. 145, 500.) Such was the case especially in the pontificate of Paul III; in treating of which, the political ideas of the author have betrayed him into a completely erroneous account of the most remarkable events.

He supposes, for instance, the delays of the Council of Trent to have been caused by a series of political machinations, contrived by the Pope, and tells us that the "old temporiser," as he styles him, discovered, at last, in December 1545, the favourable moment for opening the council, when the emperor had quarrelled with the chiefs of the Protestant party, and was preparing to make war against them. (i. p. 196.) The real progress of events is so contrary to the system adopted by the author, that nothing but a predilection for his favourite theory could have led him into such palpable mistakes. Cardinal Pallavicini has inserted, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, extracts from the correspondence between the legates of the Pope at Trent and the imperial court, which explain the details of these delays. We happen also to have seen an old and nearly contemporary copy of the letters written by the legates at Trent to Rome, which fully corroborate the account given by the cardinal. The Pope had fixed the 15th of March, 1545, for the opening of the Council,—his legates arrived on the 13th of that month at Trent; but, finding only one bishop, they resolved to wait for the arrival of other bishops. About the beginning of April, he ordered them to open the council at once, in case that any discussion of religious affairs should be introduced at the German diet of Worms;

otherwise, they were commanded to defer the council until a sufficient number of prelates should be present. On the 28th of April, they wrote to the Pope that, notwithstanding a fresh order to open it on the 3rd of May, they would again defer it, as they concurred with Cardinal Farnese, who had passed through Trent, in thinking it prudent to send previous information to the emperor, who had shown himself more favourable to Catholicism, and had declared to the Diet that the affairs of religion should be referred to the council. The Pope still insisted on the opening of it; but the emperor begged for delay at any cost, that he might not be embarrassed in his negotiations with the Protestants in Germany, and might not endanger the Church revenues, of the seizure of which the Spanish prelates would not have failed to complain to the council.* At last, in the month of October, the 13th of December was definitively fixed for opening the council, though the emperor strongly remonstrated, and pressed for farther delay. Where, then, do we discover the cautious delays on the part of the Pope until the emperor should be engaged in differences with the Protestants? On the contrary, did not the Pope command the council to be opened at the very moment when the emperor seemed to lean to the Protestants?† The emperor had not determined to declare war against the Protestants until the middle of the year 1546; and not before the 22nd of June, when the council had been actively employed for a considerable time, was the alliance between the emperor and the Pope concluded.

M. Ranke has also given an incorrect account of the removal of the council from Trent to Bologna (12th March, 1547). He considers it to have been caused by an artifice of the Pope against the emperor, whose recent victories over the Protestants had gained him a dangerous superiority; and asserts that the epidemic which had appeared at Trent was used as a pretext for transferring the council without just grounds (i. p. 252). But we gather from the letters of the legates that they had been from the beginning averse to remaining at Trent; and even on the 16th

* In a letter written on the 7th of August, the legates inform the Pope that the imperial ambassador, Don Diego di Mendoza, had visited them on the preceding day, and declared to them that the emperor stood in absolute need of the 800,000 crowns which he drew from the Church property in Spain under the title of "*CROCIATE e mezzi frutti*."

† On the 23rd of April, 1545, the legates mention as an important piece of information, that Mignanelli, the nuncio in Germany, held out some hopes of a closer friendship being formed between the Pope and the emperor. Their words are:—"Mignanelli) mostra, considerare molto che trà Vostra Santità e l'imperadore nascesse qualche confidentia. Questo piacerebbe a noi ancora come cosa più che altro necessaria per beneficio di tutta la Christianità."

of July 1545, before the opening of the council, they had contemplated its removal to some other city; and during the whole of 1545 and 1546, they earnestly beg the Pope to consent to their wishes, alleging a want of freedom and convenience in a town subject to the emperor, and rendered disagreeable by its proximity to the seat of the war, and the frequent passing of troops through it. The Pope often expresses his disapproval of their request in rather strong terms, but grants them the necessary powers for transferring the Council in extraordinary emergencies. The legates could, therefore, transfer it on the appearance of the epidemic, without previously acquainting the Pope, as he frequently declares in his letters; although the emperor's partizans and many historians have called this fact in question. We may mention, as an incontrovertible proof of our statement, that the legates themselves did not know how the translation would be received at Rome, and it is not until the 4th of April that we find Cardinal Cervini (usually styled from his titular church, the Cardinal of Santa Croce) thanking one of his friends for having conveyed to him the first certain intelligence on the subject.* With regard to the epidemic, which M. Ranke alleges to have been imaginary, we do not lay any stress on the declarations made on oath by the physicians who were consulted by the council, although we cannot discover any cause to suspect their veracity;† but we content ourselves with observing that the French bishops, whose impartiality cannot in this instance be questioned, confirm in their letter to the king‡ the dangerous character of the disease which had broken out.

M. Ranke might have explained, in like manner, several apparent acts of inconsistency in the conduct of the Popes, if he had paid sufficient attention to their spiritual position. A temporal prince might justly be censured for want of firmness and consistency in departing from his usual plan of government; but the Popes were the common fathers of all the faithful, even of those who were then in rebellion against their authority, and, therefore, could not carry on a war of life or death against them. Out of several examples of this paternal feeling on the part of the Popes, which might be cited from the work before us, we select only the following.

M. Ranke informs us at some length that Sixtus V, towards the end of his life, could not come to any decision in his own

* The letter is given by Mansi. *Miscellan.* Baluz. iii. p. 505. The legates advance the same fact in their defence, *ibid.* p. 499.

† The documents connected with their evidence are to be found in the work of the famous Gaetano Marino, *Degli Archiatrj Pontificj.* i. p. 389, ii. p. 291.

‡ The letter is published by Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat*, i. p. 622.

mind as to the propriety of taking any decisive steps in favour of the league against Henry IV, which he had hitherto supported; and he accounts for this indecision by tracing it to the fears of the Pope at the prospect of the invincible superiority which Spain would acquire by adding the conquest of France to their other victories. Still we do not discover, even in M. Ranke's account of the negotiation of Sixtus with Henry IV, a single circumstance unworthy of the vicar of Him who did not come to crush the bruised reed or extinguish the smoking flax.

"When Luxembourg, the French ambassador, told the Pope that his master would render himself worthy of receiving absolution, and would return to the feet of his Holiness and to the bosom of the Catholic Church, the Pope replied: 'Then will I embrace and console him.' His imagination was already full of the king's conversion, and, on the instant, he formed the most sanguine hopes of effecting it. He thought that political animosity against the King of Spain, rather than a religious conviction of the truth of their own creed, prevented the Protestants from returning to the Catholic Church, and he considered himself bound not to keep them at a distance from him. An English envoy had been sent to Rome, and another was known to be on his way from Saxony. Sixtus V was ready to listen to their requests. 'Would to God,' said he, 'that they all return to our feet.'—ii. p. 208.

The feelings of the Pope are more distinctly expressed in other documents, which may be partly considered official. After his conversation with the ambassador of Henry, Sixtus thus explained his motives to the Consistory of Cardinals: "We assuredly wish to hear every one, and all ought to be listened to by us, who are the father of all and the vicar of Christ. And God grant that she, who is styled the Queen of England, and the Duke of Saxony, and the Turk, may make the same request; we shall be ready to embrace them in all charity." Afterwards, when the ambassador from the League demanded supplies of money, he replied, "as long as we thought that the League had been formed to support the cause of religion, we gave, and would give again; but, now, being convinced that it has no other object but ambition, cloaked under a false semblance of religion, you need not any longer expect our protection."* With such sentiments, the Pope could not fully concur in the plans of Philip II, who displayed greater zeal for the Catholic cause than his Holiness, in order to put his own designs in execution.

Another prominent defect in M. Ranke's work, proceeding from his fundamental principle, springs from his incorrect notion of the relation between the Pope and the Catholic Church. This

* Tempesti. Vita di Sisto V, vol. ii. pp. 280-291, from the acts of the Consistory and MSS. in the Barberini Library.

error may be discovered in the very title of the work: "The Roman Pontiffs, *their* Church and State;" and throughout the work, the author treats of ecclesiastical institutions, as if the Pope could act not less arbitrarily concerning them than concerning temporal matters. As Louis XIV took delight in saying, "The State is myself;" the Pope might say, according to M. Ranke, "The Church is myself." Certainly, every true Catholic might call himself, with noble pride, a Roman Catholic, because he would thereby acknowledge the Holy See to be the centre of the Church; but we claim, in addition, for our Church, the title of Christian and Apostolic. No Pope can establish, and no Pope has ever pretended to establish, any institution, or proclaim any doctrines, save those that are conformable to the apostolic traditions, preserved uncorrupt by the infallibility of the Church.

What, for instance, has M. Ranke proved against the Church, from all the political negotiations that took place during the celebration of the Council of Trent, the accounts of which he parades with so much ostentation? We will not stop to show, that the most honourable conduct was displayed, almost without an exception, on the part of the Papal nuncios; or that the negotiations regarded, for the most part, only points of discipline, or the external circumstances and situation of the council; our opinion may be given in the words of the celebrated Mansi, Archbishop of Lucca, when he republished the correspondence of the Bishop Visconte respecting the council, from which the Protestants had drawn materials for attacking the Church: "Whatever may have been the spirit that influenced each father in giving his vote upon the canons of the council; it is sufficient for us, that they have been approved by the Church to which Christ has promised his assistance—a promise which does not regard each of us individually, but was made to St. Peter as the chief of the Church, and to the Church in union with him."* Indeed, the Church has so little to fear from the publication of these negotiations, that Reynaldi and Pallavicini give many ex-

* "Ex his porro litteris, ajunt Heterodoxi, non ambigè intelligimus nil nisi humanum Patres Tridentinos sapuisse; nec ad Evangelium, sed ad humanum sensum, oracula illa sua attemperasse. Verùm, falsi illi quidem sunt, nec enim satis attendere voluerunt, Deum, cùm Ecclesiæ prospecturum se pollicitus est, ne quid, in dogmatibus tradendis, falleret et falleretur, hanc se sponsionem fecisse non hominibus quidem privatis, sed Petro ut caput est Ecclesiæ et ipsi pariter Ecclesiæ, cui Ecclesiæ se non defuturum pollicitus est. Quocumque igitur spiritu Patres singuli ducti fuerint in suis definitionibus et Canonibus componendis ac promulgandis, profecto ab Ecclesiâ prodierunt et ab Ecclesiâ recepti sunt, cui se Deus speciali providentiâ affuturum fidem suam obligavit."—Mansi, *Miscellanea Baluziana*, vol. iii. p. 433.

tracts from them;* and other Catholic writers, like Mansi, have published parts of the correspondence in a complete form. On all these points, M. Ranke has done nothing more than copy, frequently almost *verbatim*, the assertions of Paul Sarpi, of whom it will be enough to remark, that his transcriber is unable to justify his sacrilegious conduct, in celebrating mass every day, notwithstanding his convictions in favour of Protestantism.

The sources from which M. Ranke has drawn his facts, have been unknown or nearly inaccessible to foregoing writers. They are chiefly letters written by persons of consequence, ministerial documents, and, above all, the despatches and papers of the Venetian ambassadors, during their stay at Rome, or at other courts; and only where unpublished documents have failed him, has he supplied their want from printed books; as we collect from occasional quotations, and from an inspection of the documents, which fill one half of the third volume. It would, therefore, be extremely difficult to give a detailed criticism on the materials of the work, as the greater part of the documents, to which we should have to refer, are beyond the reach of most of our readers. We must confine ourselves to a very few remarks, lest our paper should exceed the size of the book which we have undertaken to review.

We may, in the first place, observe, that M. Ranke's account of most of the principal events has been derived entirely from the papers of the Venetian ambassadors, whose statements he has not corroborated from other sources more original and more authentic, such as the letters of the persons directly employed in the management of the transactions which he describes. The degree of weight to be attached to such relations should be determined by a critical estimate of these despatches generally, and of the character of the ministers, in particular, who wrote them. Every one who has had occasion to look into diplomatic papers, is well aware, that reliance may be placed on the relation given by an ambassador of any fact which may have occurred during his mission; but when he attempts to penetrate into the designs of the court where he is stationed, and draws conclusions about the consequences likely to result from them, all the prejudices arising from his situation, his feelings towards his sovereign,

* M. Ranke (i. p. 334), attaches much importance to his account of the negotiations between Cardinal Morone and Ferdinand I, derived from newly discovered documents; but we are curious to know if there is a single point of consequence in the whole business which is not much better explained in the history of Pallavicini, *Storia del Concilio di Trento*, Lib. xx. c. 12 et sqq. M. Ranke refrains from quoting Mr. Mendham's *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, because, as he justly observes, (vol. iii. p. 289), the author of them has not displayed the learning and study necessary for working out his materials.

and his own character, must be supposed to have weighed with him, and to have influenced his judgment. We are at a loss, therefore, to discover the reason why M. Ranke has received their statements with such implicit belief. His mistakes with regard to the political intentions of the different princes are partly to be traced to this source; as may be easily seen by comparing his second volume, in which original documents have been more frequently consulted, with his first, the value of which is greatly inferior. It would be unfair to insist on several slight mistakes about the literary history of some of these documents: M. Ranke has given some as hitherto inedited, which have been published for many years; but in such an extensive work, these mistakes are unavoidable. We regret, however, that he does not appear to have been acquainted with an important collection of materials for the history of the sixteenth century, published by Mansi, as an appendix to the *Miscellanea of Baluze*;^{*} and that for the history of the Conclaves, his attention has not been directed to the exact accounts of them, which are to be found in the work mentioned below.[†]

The reader will have judged from our analysis in what manner M. Ranke has used the materials of which we have just spoken. The work consists of general reasonings upon the political events, and of notices respecting the private lives of the Popes; the reader is supposed to be informed of the other facts belonging to their history. On this account, it must be considered as a series of sketches and outlines rather than a complete history; although we allow due weight to the saying of Montesquieu, "*Qui pourrait dire tout sans un mortel ennui?*" We have in vain sought to discover any motive that can have induced the author to treat of some subjects at length and neglect others. In many instances, this method seems to us to have been purely arbitrary. What he has said concerning the time that has elapsed since 1630, is a mere fragment; and there are also omissions of consequence in the preceding portion; for instance, he tells us nothing about the conclave and early actions of Julius III, except an insignificant story; although the acts of the conclave and the first letters of the Pope, which are generally contained in the same MSS. are deserving of particular attention. Julius III was the first Pope who abandoned the system of active interference in political affairs, pursued by most of his predecessors; and proclaimed, on his accession, his resolution to adhere to the

^{*} Stephani Baluzii Miscellanea. ed. Mansi Luca, 1761-1764, 4 vols. fol. The two last volumes contain the collection alluded to in the text.

[†] Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi. Paris, 1787 et seq. See vol. i. ii.

principle of not mixing in political differences, but of procuring peace, as the common father of all Catholics. He did not enter warmly into the wishes of the imperial party, which, as M. Ranke mentions, would have secured his election; on the contrary, in his instruction to the nuncio at the court of the French king, he says, that to his majesty, after God, he is indebted for it. His resolution not to interfere in political matters, did not prevent him from earnestly and strongly exhorting the emperor and the king to make a mutual peace, and join in alliance against the heretics and the Turks; and he declares, that his own person should not be spared in the performance of his duty towards God and the flock committed to his care.

M. Ranke enters at great length into a history of the Inquisition, and makes martyrs of all the persons condemned by that tribunal, without observing any distinction between criminals condemned by the ordinary tribunals, and the atheists, deists, or heretics, condemned by the Inquisition. At a later period, he is wholly silent about it, and forgets to inform his readers, that the Inquisition relaxed in its severity when the danger was past. We are well aware, that in succeeding times, a number of stories have been related about the terrors of the Inquisition; and many celebrated men are reported to have been tormented by its order, who were never brought before it at all; and the crown of martyrdom has been given to many criminals for no other reason than because they were executed at Rome.*

After this, some doubts may reasonably be entertained as to his exactness in the use of his materials; and the specimens above given, show that his system of political history is like the bed of Procrustes, to which documents are not always fitted without violence. Still, we are very far from charging him with any intentional unfairness; for, on every occasion, where he is not biassed by affection for his system, as when he is treating of the private life of the Popes, or of the internal administration of the Ecclesiastical States, he is much more exact, and the circumstance of any fact being to the credit of the Popes, or honourable to the Catholic Church, does not become with him as with many

* The groundless nature of such charges has been shown on several occasions. Even in the heat of the warfare between Catholics and Protestants, the latter were more just towards the Holy See than our modern writers. Joseph Scaliger, a bitter Calvinist, but one of the most learned men the world has produced, says of Clement VIII:—"The present Pope does not persecute men or put them to death for religion. There have been several Englishmen, but especially one, who, at Rome, in the great temple of St. Peter, during the consecration, snatched the host from the hands of the priest; and was justly punished for this deed. The secretary of M. de Dabin has told me that he saw him executed." See "*Scaligeriana sive excerpta ex ore Josephi Scaligeri.*" Hagæ Comit. 1669, 2nd edit. p. 143.

other authors, a good ground for passing it over or disfiguring it. Errors in making references, or faults committed by translating incorrectly, or not observing the context of particular passages, occasionally meet our eye. Our limits do not allow us to raise any points of discussion founded on manuscript authorities; we shall, therefore, mention a few examples taken from sources accessible to all.

M. Ranke (i. p. 255), describes the irritation of the Emperor against the Pope, (Paul III), when the council was transferred from Trent to Bologna, and concludes with these words: "The Emperor not only insisted that the council should return to Trent, but declared farther, that he would go to Rome in person, and there celebrate a council." This expression would have been a violent threat on the part of the Emperor, and a declaration of his intention to direct a hostile expedition against Rome; but in the context of the original document, given by Pallavicini,* the Emperor's words have an entirely different meaning. The Pope had ordered his nuncio to represent to him, that the holding of the council at Bologna, a city belonging to the Pope, would not diminish the liberty of the council, as many councils had been held at Rome itself, and, whenever it might suit him, the Emperor might appoint an interview between himself and his Holiness, to arrange about matters connected with the council; insinuating that, if the Emperor pleased, the council might be held at Rome itself. The Pope's invitation was not very ceremoniously received by the Emperor; who replied, that he would come and hold the council at Rome, whenever it should happen to suit his inclination.†

In another passage, M. Ranke thus speaks of the impression produced on the Catholic princes by the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's:—

"Philip II saw with delight, that he had been imitated and surpassed. The Pope, Gregory XIII, celebrated this great success by a procession to St. Louis'; (the national Church of the French in Rome), the Venetians expressed, in a special letter to their ambassador, their satisfaction at this 'grace of God.'"—ii. p. 68.

The conduct of the Pope is narrated in the same line with that of Philip II and the Venetians, without any distinction being marked between them; although, in the annals of Gregory XIII, by Maffei, which, according to M. Ranke himself, contain the most authentic materials for that pontiff's life,—the subject is very differently described.

* Storia x. 19.

† Pallavicini Storia x, 19. "Andarebbe a far il concilio in Roma quando ne avesse talento."

"At this time, the Pope was personally informed, by the Cardinal of Lorraine, that King Charles, for his own security and the peace of his kingdom, had put to death the Admiral (Coligny), who was the head and the principal supporter of the Huguenots, and, although he had been thus freed from great trouble, still the Pope did not show signs of more than *moderate gratification*, as if a member of his body had been amputated by a painful operation; he returned thanks to the divine goodness at home, and, on the following day, went publicly in solemn procession from St. Mark's to the Church of St. Louis."*

We are unwilling to multiply examples, and will quote only one interesting passage, relating to our own history. Since the reign of Mary, the Catholics of England and Ireland cherished hopes for the first time under James I of being treated with more justice, and of being, perhaps, even tolerated.

"Before the accession of James I to the English throne, Clement VIII had caused him to be informed that he prayed for him as the son of a virtuous mother, and that he wished him all temporal and spiritual prosperity, with the hope of one day seeing him again a Catholic. At Rome his accession was celebrated with public prayers and processions. James did not dare to make any reply to these overtures, even if he had been so inclined; but, meanwhile, he allowed Parry, his minister at Paris, to enter on terms of intimacy with the nuncio Bubalis. The nuncio showed him a letter from Cardinal Aldobrandini, exhorting the English Catholics to obey King James as their king and natural lord, and even to pray for him. Parry, in return, produced an instruction from his master, in which he promised to give no trouble to the peaceable Catholics.

"Indeed the priests began again to say mass publicly in the north of England, and the Puritans complained that within a short time fifty thousand Englishmen had passed over to Catholicism. It is said that the king told them, in answer to their remonstrance, to convert on their side as many Spaniards and Italians. These successes may have betrayed the Catholics into raising their hopes too high. When the king continued to be attached to the other party, and the ancient acts of parliament were enforced anew, the Catholics were proportionably more exasperated, and the gunpowder conspiracy was the terrible result of these feelings. After that event the king could not venture to show any kind of toleration . . . but, when questions about the Catholics were put to him in private, his answers were always very moderate. He said to one of the princes of Lorraine, who had visited him with the privy of Paul V, that the difference between the several creeds was very small,

* In questo tempo avvisato Gregorio personalmente del Cardinale di Lorena, che il Rè Carlo, per sicurezza della sua persona e quiete del regno, aveva fatto tor di vita l'Ammiraglio, capo e fautore principale degli Ugonotti; egli benechè liberato di gravissimo affanno tuttavia come di membra con dolore tagliate dal corpo, mostrando *temperata letizia*, diede di ciò in privato le dovute grazie alla divina bontà, ed il giorno seguente in pubblico con processione da S. Marco andò a visitare la chiesa di San Luigi. "Maffei Annali di Gregorio XIII, vol. i. p. 34.

and though he held his own faith from conviction and not from motives of policy, he took pleasure in hearing the doctrines of others . . . that he admitted the authority of the Fathers of the Church, and that Augustin had more weight with him than Luther; and St. Bernard more than Calvin, . . . that he considered the Roman Church, even in her present condition, as the mother of all the other Churches, and that she needed only to be reformed . . . that he was neither a heretic, as he held the same doctrine as the Pope, nor a schismatic, as he allowed the Pope to be the head of the Church."—ii. p. 479, *et seq.**

With such sentiments, continues M. Ranke, and for political reasons likewise, the king sought to conciliate the Catholics, who were yet numerous and were inclined to join the Spaniards; and he expected to succeed in all his views, if his son, the hereditary prince Charles, should marry a princess of Spain. This alliance would also enable him to reinstate in his dominions his brother-in-law, the elector of Pfalz, who had lost his electoral possessions by his defeat in Bohemia. The conclusion of this affair is well known; the king of Spain consented, the Pope granted the necessary dispensation, the marriage articles were determined, when the quarrel between Buckingham and Olivarez caused the plan to fall to the ground. M. Ranke has explained these points with sufficient clearness, but he has not pointed out the difference between the conditions of the treaty of marriage, which were made public, and those which were *secretly* agreed to by the king. Nor is the conduct of the Pope sufficiently brought to view. To render the account of this important transaction complete, we shall endeavour to supply what our author has omitted.

We have in our possession a MS. memoir, intended no doubt for the Pope, and entitled, *Considerazioni dalle quali si conosce dover esser utile il matrimonio alla religione Cattolica*. The writer in the first place expresses his hope that the princess would very easily succeed in converting to the Catholic faith her husband, who was still young, and, as he judged, not gifted with great prudence (*di natura non advedutissimo*). Although no guarantee had yet been given for the performance of the promises made to the Catholics, the importance of the negotiation might be gathered from the fact, that within that period the Catholics had converted ten thousand Protestants. The king had, moreover, for reasons of state favoured the marriage, not relying on the fidelity of his subjects, who differed from him in religion, and wishing to secure the crown to his son by the power of the Spanish king. The memoir farther states that the *Puritans*

* M. Ranke in this account has consulted the two documents entitled, *Breve relazione di quanto si è trattato trà S. Santità ed il Rè d'Inghilterra*, and *Relazione del Signor de Breval al Papa*.

hated the king more than ever, on account of the marriage, and this circumstance would oblige him more earnestly to seek the alliance with Spain, and come to terms with the Catholics, by granting them liberty of conscience, and forming them into a party in his kingdom to counterbalance the Puritans. The papal nuncio at Madrid, Mgr. Massimi, Bishop of Bertinoro, had also expressed his approval of the match; and on the 12th of April, 1623, Cardinal Ludovisi forwarded to him the dispensation which had been previously examined by a congregation of five cardinals. The instructions, hitherto unpublished, sent at the same time to the nuncio, were two-fold, public and secret; in the former the pope enjoined the nuncio not to give the dispensation until he should have obtained from the privy council (*consiglio*) and the parliament, their approval of the toleration promised to the Catholics; but in the secret instructions, the nuncio is informed that the pope approves of the conditions of the treaty, in the form already agreed to by the two kings, and only requires that the king of Spain shall guarantee by letters patent (*cedola reale*) the performance of the promises of the king of England, and promise in the name of the infanta that she should not keep any Protestant attendant in her service. If these demands were allowed, the nuncio was to deliver the dispensation, but he was likewise to endeavour to obtain the following conditions:— 1st. That the children should be baptized by a Catholic priest according to the Catholic rite; 2d. That they should remain until their twelfth year under the care of their mother; and this term was, if possible, to be prolonged for two years more; 3d. That the toleration promised to the Catholics should not be limited to the infanta and her suite, but should extend to all the other Catholics in the king's dominions, who had been persecuted for so long a time. The conditions that were finally agreed to by the parties are well known, but it is interesting to observe how much they recede from the conditions originally proposed.

We dare not hazard an opinion respecting the style of the work. It is read with greater facility than the generality of German works, but we are struck in every page with the author's efforts to produce an effect, or strike out a happy thought, *etiam invitâ Minervâ*. The narration is much enlivened by M. Ranke's endeavours to imprint on it a local character, by relieving it with descriptions of several parts of Rome, which evince a sincere attachment to the Eternal City. The antiquarian reader will only regret that in speaking of Roman antiquities, M. Ranke is seldom correct. In the first volume (p. 473), he tells us that Sixtus V brought the ancient Aqua Marcia from the Colonna territory, over twenty-two miles of country, to Rome.

It happens, however, that the sources of the aqueduct of Sixtus V have nothing to do with the ancient Aqua Martia, which is brought from the Sabine hills, more than sixty miles from Rome. In another passage (iii. p. 76), he states that the Temple of Peace (or more correctly the Basilica of Constantine), was in a good state of preservation as late as the reign of Paul V, who led the way to its destruction, by removing the great column, which stands at present before the church of St. Mary Major. This is likewise incorrect. Any one examining the former site of the column, may convince himself that its removal could not cause the ruin of the building, which as we see in ancient representations of it, was in a state of decay before the time of Paul V. A few lines afterwards, the stone of which the famous tomb of Cæcilia Metella, at Rome, is built, is called "marble;" although in the era of the republic, to which the tomb belongs, it was never customary to use marble for such a monument, which, unluckily, is built of Travertine.

We should exceed the limits of an article, and fatigue the patience of our readers, if we did not close here our critical observations. We have proved, we trust, that the history of the popes since the Reformation is not completed, much less perfectly described in the work to which we have dedicated this article; and on account of this very incompleteness, we cannot look upon it, as some Catholic and Protestant reviewers have done, as extremely prejudicial to the Catholic Church. Besides, the popes are the "best abused men" in all history, so that, to use M. Ranke's own words (Pref. p. 11), "It is impossible for the most scrutinizing research to discover any facts worse than those which unfounded conjecture has already invented, and which men have once held as truth." Although we could have reasonably wished our author to have based his researches on other principles, we are still convinced that every Catholic is indebted to him for what he has already done. He proves anew the credibility of Catholic authors, such as Tempesti and Maffei, and he has laid open the falsehoods of our adversaries. Who has not seen the works of Gregorio Leti quoted as an incontrovertible authority in proof of the vices of Sixtus V, or the debauchery of Innocent X? M. Ranke demonstrates his narration to be destitute of foundation, and to have been compiled from a very modern collection of trifling stories, which he intentionally rendered still more fabulous. Besides these results, which are rather of a negative character, we find in M. Ranke's work a multitude of facts heretofore almost unknown, which are highly creditable to the Church and the Holy See. This is the first time that a Protestant, enjoying a reputation for eminent literary

acquirements, who has devoted to this subject the results of long researches, and consulted the relations of eye-witnesses usually impartial, or whose partialities are against the popes, has published to the world his candid acknowledgment that the popes of these latter times have been in their private lives spotless and unblameable; that many of them have been models of virtue and piety; and that all of them were ready to sacrifice everything for the safety of the Church; in a word, that, after God, we owe to the popes the preservation of Catholicism on this side of the Alps. The historians and political writers who attribute to them the ruin of the nationality and liberty of Italy, may learn from the work before us that the feelings of Italian nationality lived in the hearts of the popes, and urged them to make the greatest sacrifices, when the other Italian states had deserted the cause. We challenge the world to point out in any dynasty of Europe two or three such men as filled the Holy See in continuous succession during an equal space of time.*

ART. III.—1. *A Grammar of Modern Geography, with an Introduction to Astronomy and the Use of the Globes; compiled for the Use of King's College School.* By Aaron Arrowsmith. London. 1832.

2. *Pinnock's Catechism of the History of England; written in easy Language for the Use of Young Persons.* Fifty-second Edition. London.

3. *Pinnock's Improved Edition of Goldsmith's History of England.* Twenty-fourth Edition. London. 1835.

4. *A Comprehensive Grammar of Modern Geography and History.* By William Pinnock, Author of *Pinnock's Catechisms*, &c. London.

5. *Titi Livii Historiæ Libri omnes qui extant, cum annotationibus probatissimis et utilissimis, accuratè selectis, et Anglicè redditis, à Jacobo Prendeville, Universitatis Dubliniensis Scholare.* Tomus primus, in usum scholarum. Dublinii. 1828.

AT the commencement of our literary labours, we pledged ourselves to examine the origin, and expose the injustice, of the prejudices too commonly entertained against the principles

* Since writing the above article, we learn that a French translation of M. Ranke's work has been published in two volumes, under the following title, *Histoire de la Papauté pendant les seizième et dix-septième siècles, par Leopold Ranke, &c. précédée d'une Introduction par M. Alex. de St. Ch...*, &c.

and practice of the Catholic Religion. In the fulfilment of this pledge, it becomes our duty to call the attention of the public to the character of the school-books in general use: and, although in introducing mere elementary treatises to their notice, we depart somewhat from the ordinary routine of our contemporaries, we feel, notwithstanding, that, to those who duly appreciate the purity and integrity of early education, it would be idle to offer either explanation or apology.

If it be correct to suppose that any class is peculiarly interested in a matter of such importance to all, we have little hesitation in saying, that all who profess the Protestant principle, if they wish to be consistent, are bound to guard the education of youth with far more than ordinary care. Glorifying in the inalienable privilege of private judgment in religion;—claiming its freedom as the most precious birthright of man;—denouncing, in the strongest terms, “the scandalous decrees”* which would fetter its exercise;—it would be, in them, a strange inconsistency indeed, to permit a system of education for their children, which, by filling the infant mind with prejudice, renders a fair inquiry in after-life exceedingly difficult, if not almost impossible. Who will say that the youth who has been led from infancy to class together “the apostacies of Rome and Mahomet;”† to lisp of the “absurd creed” of Catholics; whose mind has been filled with horror of their religion, as a “system of imposture, deceit, and falsehood,” “shocking to the natural reason of thinking men,”‡ and taught to shrink with loathing from the “shocking and disgusting details of the Papal supremacy;”§—who will say that he is prepared for a fair and dispassionate comparison of the claims of the Catholic and Protestant churches? Still less, if he find the belief of Catholics misrepresented; if he find the images of the saints perpetually called “Idols;”|| if he be told, that their “pretended” indulgences are a real “permission to commit sin?”¶—is not this (we put it to the common sense of our Protestant countrymen)—is not this a cruel mockery of that “unfettered liberty of mind” which, in the case contemplated, becomes an empty, foolish boast! and is not the parent who tolerates such a system, a partner and accomplice in the alienation of the “inalienable birthright” of his child?

The literature of England is Anti-catholic by prescription—Anti-catholic in all its departments. To be sure, the day is past when, in every romance, the reader found a “ruffian monk” with a reeking dagger or a poisoned bowl; and the villain of

* Arrowsmith's Geography, p. 163.

§ Ibid. p. 163.

† Ibid. p. 161.

|| Ibid. p. 168.

‡ Ibid. p. 163.

¶ Ibid. p. 164.

every plot was a crafty Jesuit or hypocritical priest: but the poison is administered still, with a more delicate, it is true, but not less busy hand. From the lordly folio down to the almost invisible diamond edition, it may still be found in every shop and upon every stall: Dr. Fletcher's estimate of the candour of Protestant writers on divinity, is too well known to be repeated here; but, in truth, the spirit is universal—common to history, fiction, and even science, as well as divinity. We have seen a metaphysician gravely assert, that transubstantiation was an invention of the schools, to explain Aristotle's theory of absolute accidents. We have known a medical lecturer insult his hearers, many of whom were Catholics, by an irrelevant and offensive episode on the corruptions and superstition of the middle age.* The truth is, this unworthy spirit breathes through them all; theologian and encyclopædist; novelist and historian: it may even be heard lisping in the honeyed numbers of some fair authoress, or found lurking under the gilded decorations of a scrap-book or an annual!

But it were well if the evil stopped here. There is some chance that the readers to whom it is thus introduced, may be capable of examining for themselves; and although it is difficult to conceive how one can close his mind against insinuations which he meets at every turn, still, speaking absolutely, their case is not without some hope of remedy. But there is another field, in which the mischief is incalculably greater,—we mean, the first lessons of youth. Accustomed, more or less, to judge for itself, and feeling a degree of pride in its own powers, the full-grown intellect is apt to receive with suspicion any new or startling statement: and we may hope that, if anything be admitted after imperfect examination, it will retain but slight hold should its falsehood be afterwards detected. But the young mind, in its first adventurous journey into the regions of knowledge, clings to every support which is offered to its tottering steps, with a tenacious, because all-confiding, grasp, which it scarcely relinquishes even in its fall. Each one's experience will convince him

“*Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu;*”

and, with the memory of our own early misconceptions drawn from this very source, we have little difficulty in accounting for the prejudice which marks the character of a large section of the community.

* The students who attended certain lectures in this metropolis during the session 1835-6, will recollect the occasion.

We do not mean, within the limits of an article like the present, to run through all the treatises used in our schools. We feel that it would be impossible, as, indeed, it is unnecessary. Seeking not so much to point out every abuse as to shew the necessity of a general reform, we shall content ourselves with producing a few specimens of their general tendency, satisfied that, in a matter with which the dearest interests of the community are identified, the radical defects to which attention may be directed, cannot long remain without a remedy.

We will commence with a book of the humblest class—"a spelling and pronouncing dictionary"—the very last, we should have supposed, which could have been employed for the purpose of misrepresentation. There are few walks in literature more circumscribed than that assigned to the compiler of a dictionary, "the pioneer of literature, destined only to remove rubbish, and clear obstructions from its paths." To give an explanation, as far as possible "the reciprocal of the thing explained," is the fundamental law laid down by one of the greatest masters of the art. Every one laughs at finding the grave Dr. Johnson betrayed by his anti-Scotch prepossessions into the semblance of humour, describing oats as "grain which in *England* is used for horses, but in *Scotland* is the food of the people." There, however, if there be not much humour, at least there is not much harm, in the joke. But what shall we say of the petty malice of the following explanation:—

"ANTICHRIST, One who opposes Christ—THE POPE"!!

And this in a "spelling and pronouncing dictionary *for the use of schools*," printed and reprinted year after year! We ourselves copy it from a *stereotype edition*, intended, of course, to perpetuate the absurdity!* It is difficult to treat seriously a matter so utterly ridiculous. Such things may do very well for the fanatical exhibitions of the Rotunda. There we may laugh at the virulence which defeats its own object. But it is a disgrace to the character of our schools, to find, in the sober pages of a dictionary, that "*Antichrist*" means "*the Pope*," set down with as much seriousness, and as little ceremony, as that "*king*" means "*monarch*," or "*Christian*" "*one who professes the religion of Christ*."

The observations which we have been making above, apply, with peculiar force, to the little series entitled "Pinnock's Catechisms," which, if we may judge from the number of editions,

* *Entick's Spelling and Pronouncing Dictionary*, stereotype edition, Sims and M'Intire, Belfast.

seems to have met an enormous circulation.† “Intended,” as the advertisement states, “to be committed to memory at an early age, they form a complete juvenile cyclopedia, written in simple and easy language;” and profess to contain a familiar epitome of the principles of almost every conceivable subject: grammar, history, science, and religion. As they are intended to direct the very earliest judgments of the pupil, it is obvious that the greatest care should have been taken, to avoid the slightest taint of prejudice. Let the reader judge whether it be so.

Let us take for example, the “*Catechism of English History*.” It is scarcely necessary to say, that, in the colouring of facts and the estimate of character, the compendium follows implicitly the authorities of Hume and Goldsmith: and it need not be added, that, in an elementary epitome, which deals only with leading facts, any misrepresentation, however slight, is much more censurable. A very few examples will suffice to display its spirit.

“Q. What is meant by the Reformation?”

“A. By the Reformation is meant the *reforming* of the Christian religion from the *errors* of popery, and reducing it nearer to its primitive purity.” p. 43.

Where, we would ask, is the necessity for this gratuitous insult? It may be said, that the book was intended for Protestants only. If so, what would have been more easy than to say, “By the Reformation, *Protestants mean*?” But did the writer forget, that even they, in his own principles, are bound by a most sacred obligation, to decide for themselves the truth or falsehood of these very doctrines which he would teach them in infancy to regard as “errors?” Is it possible he could have imagined, that prepossessions such as these, adhering with all the tenacity peculiar to the first faith of childhood, were a good preparation for an unprejudiced and self-led conclusion? To the Catholic child such things are but an insult; and, Heaven knows, we have had experience enough to teach us to bear them patiently; but to the Protestant, whose principles oblige him to form his own religious faith, they are a positive and a grievous injustice. Every reflecting man must see the difficulty of reconciling the practice of early polemical instruction with the free exercise of private judgment. But if it must be done, even at the expense of consistency, in the name of common decency, let it be confined to the books which are set

† The *Catechism of English History* has reached at least the fifty-second edition.

apart for that purpose. Let not the youthful student meet it at every turn; still more, let him not meet it in its too frequent form, misrepresentation. Above all, let not the Catholic be insulted upon ground which is common to both, and which, if the courtesies of life are to be observed between them, should unquestionably be neutral.

In page 34, we are told that "marriage was first celebrated in churches in the reign of Henry III; and the writer adds, with a *sang froid* which, if the subject were any other, might provoke a smile, that "magnifying glasses and magic lanterns were *also* invented in that reign by Roger Bacon the monk!" We looked with some degree of curiosity to the account of the Gunpowder Plot, a subject, with writers of this class, so fertile in misrepresentation.

"Q. What was the Gunpowder-plot?"

"A. *A scheme of the Roman Catholics to blow up both houses of Parliament, when the king, princes, lords, and commons, should be assembled, Nov. 5, 1605.*"

The Gunpowder Plot a scheme of the Roman Catholics! The public is in possession of all the circumstances of this atrocious conspiracy, as far as they can be gathered from the mass of contradictions in which the policy of the minister, and the excitement of the period, has involved it. It is for any unprejudiced man to judge, how far the history of the case bears out the effort which, in common with his more distinguished brethren, this miniature-historian makes to fix upon it the character of a conspiracy of the *entire Catholic party*.† That the statement and the form of the expression are not accidental, may appear sufficiently from a more extended compendium of English history by the same author, in which the same statement is put forward at greater length.

"Mild as this monarch was in toleration, there was a project contrived in the very beginning of his reign, for the re-establishment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could scarcely be credited by posterity. This was the Gunpowder Plot, than which a more horrid or terrible scheme never entered into the human heart to conceive.

† Most of the Catechisms in the series are of the same stamp. Even in the *Catechism of Religious Denominations*, which professes to avoid everything "tending to bias the opinions of the rising generation before they have attained an age capable of judging for themselves," we find first, in the list of "fundamental doctrines (p. 16) on which most Christians are agreed," that "the Scriptures are divinely inspired, and the *only certain rule of faith and practice*;" while the writer admits (p. 33), that the number of Catholics, who reject this article, far exceeds that of Protestants.

"*The Roman Catholics* had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as the descendant of Mary, a rigid Catholic, and also as having shewn some partiality to that religion in his youth. But *they (the Roman Catholics, of course)* soon discovered their mistake, and were at once surprised and enraged, to find James on all occasions express his resolution of strictly enforcing all the laws against them. This declaration determined *them (the Roman Catholics still)* upon more desperate measures; and *they* at length formed a resolution of destroying the King and both houses of Parliament at a blow. The scheme was first broached by Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family, who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be placed under the Parliament-house, so as to blow up the King and all the members at once. How horrid soever the contrivance might appear, yet *every member* seemed faithful and secret in the league."—pp. 219, 220.

It is impossible to mistake the meaning of this passage. Not a word to convey any idea of the number of the conspirators—not a single allusion to their character or station. On the contrary, tracing its origin to the disappointed hopes and aggrieved condition of *the entire body*, the author mixes up *all alike* in the charge. The circumstances may be detailed with sufficient minuteness; but is it not outrageous, to represent as the act of the entire Catholic body, an attempt of which only *sixteen individuals*, of comparatively unimportant station, were cognizant; which is repugnant to every principle of their creed, and was undertaken, as has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt, in defiance of the earnest remonstrances of the three priests to whom, under the seal of confession, the fatal secret was confided?

If our space permitted, we would submit a few extracts in a similar strain from Goldsmith, and an abridgment of Hume which is in pretty general use. As it is, our readers being in all probability sufficiently familiar with both, we must suffer them to draw upon the memory of their schoolboy studies. We will, therefore pass on to examine briefly the class-books of geography, which are equally, if not more objectionable. To the mere geographical details this observation will not apply; but the history and statistics mixed up in the work are but too often made the vehicle of the worst misrepresentation. This character, we regret to say, is very general. Guthrie, Guy, Pinnock, Goldsmith, Arrowsmith, and many others, might be taken as examples.

We shall commence with a few extracts from the last-named work, compiled for the use of King's College school. We do not think it necessary to offer a single comment.

"The Christian religion was not introduced into Germany before the eighth century; but that country had the honour of taking the lead in

the Reformation, about A. D. 1517: prior to this latter period, the bishops, whilst they were possessed of enormous power and revenues, were buried in the profoundest ignorance and the grossest wickedness and superstition. This new and important era in the history of Germany, which rescued not only it, but the whole Christian world, from the *foul idolatries of popery*, was introduced by Martin Luther, whose name can never be forgotten whilst anything of principle remains that is deserving of remembrance. This great man was born at Eisleben in Saxony, in the year 1483: he spent the early years of his life in the most diligent study, and having passed some time in a convent of the Augustine friars, he assumed the habit and took the vows of that order, and was at length ordained a priest when twenty-four years of age. His great and profound learning, the sanctity of his moral conduct, and his extensive acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, were generally known and applauded; and in the following year, the Elector of Saxony having founded a university at Wittenberg, appointed Luther to the professorship of philosophy, and afterwards to that of divinity.

"This took place during the pontificate of Leo X. The unbounded profusion of this pope in every object of expense, attached to a taste for luxurious magnificence, rendered it necessary to devise means for replenishing his exhausted treasury; and one of those which occurred, was the sale of certain indulgences which his *apostate Church* claimed a right of dispensing from the store of her spiritual wealth. These indulgences pretended to convey to the possessor either the pardon of his *own sins*, or the release from purgatory of any one already dead, in whose happiness he was interested. The commissaries appointed for this *blasphemous traffic* in Germany, executed their trust with such shameless and disgusting effrontery, and exaggerated the efficacy of their wares in such very extravagant terms, as gave great offence to those who were even ordinarily pious and thoughtful. At last the iniquity of such proceedings roused the anger of Luther, a public preacher at Wittenberg, who felt himself insulted by such a system, and knew that his lessons of religion and morality could be valued but little, whilst the Church whose disciple he was so openly encouraged the commission of the grossest vices."—pp. 108-9.

"Though many superstitious practices and unscriptural opinions had debased the purity of the early faith, there can be no comparison between the state of religious error when the grant of Phocas conferred political power on the Roman Pontiff, and the extent to which the *system of imposture, deceit, and falsehood*, subsequently attained, by the time when the Council of Trent impressed its seal on the great charter of papal slavery. The published works of Pope Leo, who sent Augustine to England, prove that the religious faith of that day was *essentially different*, in the most important doctrines, from the creed which was sanctioned by the Council of Trent. The doctrines of solitary masses, masses for the dead, transubstantiation, the supremacy of the Pope, the equal authority of scripture and tradition, the equal authority of the apocryphal with the canonical books of scripture, the power of good works to deserve salvation, the confession of sins in private to the priest,

communion in one kind only, and the worship of images, were all condemned by Pope Leo; and were all decreed to be articles of faith, and as such, to be implicitly believed on pain of damnation, by the Council of Trent. This remarkable fact destroys at once the truth of the assertion so generally made, that the Church of Rome has maintained an unchangeable creed. *The faith of that Church is an embodied collection of true and false opinions*; partly derived from misinterpreted scripture, but principally invented in the course of the controversies and discussions which have ever prevailed in the world, and which would have escaped from the memory of mankind, with other absurdities of the age of ignorance, if they had not been preserved, and sanctioned and enforced by the asserted infallibility of the most fallible Church upon earth.

"From the grant of Phocas to the age of Luther, the annals of Europe are filled with *one long catalogue of crime produced by the influence of the corruptions of the Church of Rome*. The depositions of princes, the fomenting of rebellions, the flagitious lives of the popes, the scandalous decrees against the freedom of opinion, the persecution of the objectors to the power of Rome, which disgrace this sad portion of the history of the world, have been amply and frequently related. The friends of the Church of Rome had long endeavoured to effect its reformation before the age of Luther; indignant remonstrances, the most energetic appeals, the most affecting entreaties, the most bitter and galling satire were alike in vain exerted to induce the removal of abuses. *The natural reason of thinking men was shocked at the consequences of the papal doctrines*. In this state of things, the injudicious enforcement of one of the more objectionable doctrines of its *absurd creed*, elicited the spark which fired the long prepared train of public indignation. *Permissions to commit sin were publicly sold under the pretence of remitting the penalties of the guilt which their commission would have contracted*: the open and shameless manner in which these indulgences were sold, together with the quarrel between the rival societies of monks, who were desirous of participating in the profits of the scandalous traffic occasioned that gradual, open and indignant opposition to the Church of Rome, which ended in the alienation of its fairest provinces, and the restoration of that pure religion and unfettered liberty of mind, which it had been amongst the original objects of Christianity to secure to its adherents. It cannot be as the successor of an apostle, that this priest invests himself with the powers of an absolute monarch, over the lives and property of thousands of human beings in this world, and over their happiness in a future state; that he clothes himself with purple; that he assumes a triple crown, as representing his pretended triple capacity of high-priest, supreme judge, and sole legislator of the Christians; that he surrounds himself with all the insignia and splendour of royalty, which his feeble means admit of; that he is shrouded with all the pomp of magistracy, and the destructive machinery of war. It requires some patience to follow him through *such a tissue of hypocrisy*, and to find him, notwithstanding, assuming the humble title of "servant of the servants of God;" but the whole

details of his *assumed supremacy are shocking and disgusting indeed.*"—pp. 163, 4, 5.

We shall not trust ourselves with any observation upon this insolent and offensive tirade. But we cannot help asking, what has all this to do with the geography of Italy? We put it to the good feeling of any man, however stern in his belief, whether any good is likely to result, either to charity or to religion, from such a tissue of falsehood, misrepresentation and abuse; and what peace can be expected in society from an education, where such principles are, not merely sanctioned, but encouraged?

Again, what could be more insulting than the following passage? Speaking of the shrine of Our Lady at Loretto, he describes it as "a speculation, which has answered amazingly well. The number of devotees who visit it for the purpose of absolving themselves from vows, obtaining relief from sickness or other distress, and seeking remission of their sins, is very great; before the reformation it is said that more than 200,000 pilgrims visited the shrine annually, and laid at the feet of *THE IDOL* the best offerings they were able to present."—p. 168.

A thousand, and a thousand times, have Catholics, with one voice, disclaimed this revolting imputation; a thousand and a thousand times, has the charge been repeated, as we find it here. Surely these slanderers are of that class predicted in Isaiah, who "hearing, hear and understand not," who "see the vision and know it not."

We can only refer the reader to the observations upon Spain, (pp. 89, 90) upon Portugal, (p. 97) and Naples, (p. 171.) They are exactly in keeping with the above, equally unworthy of any liberal or enlightened mind.

The author of the *Elementary Catechisms* noticed above, has also published a grammar of Geography, which seems to have been favourably received. We were sorry to meet it occasionally in Catholic schools, even of considerable respectability.

The following false and scandalous passage, no matter what might be its other merits, should have decided its exclusion.

"The government of the Roman States is that of an absolute elective monarch, generally aged, who is called the Pope. The Popes being formerly the acknowledged head of all the Christian world except the Greek Church, possessed a power of which we can scarcely have any idea: although it is now greatly diminished, yet, as their history still continues to be connected with that of most countries of Europe, *it is proper that attention be paid to the following observations.*

"In Italy the Pope is considered a respectable temporal power, as governing a pretty extensive territory; but he is *very arbitrary*, and his subjects, (as those of all ecclesiastics) groan under the weight of enormous taxes; for, as the sovereign bishop is always old, he loses no time

to advance his family ; and before, or as soon as this is done, he dies, and the same scene is reacted by another.

"The Pope is styled by way of eminence His Holiness, and affects to be above all temporal princes ; for which reason he wears three crowns upon his tiara ; and, not content with being styled sovereign prince, he *pretends* to be Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth.

"The Roman Catholic Religion is the only one tolerated throughout the Pope's dominions. *The Pope's sons are called his nephews*, and the custom of enriching them Nepotism."—pp. 222, 3.

We could scarce trust our eyes, when we read for the first time this frontless calumny, and it is not without considerable reluctance we transfer it to our pages. It is hard to speak with common patience of such men and such things. The more courageous class of slanderers, who prepare their falsehoods for the adult portion of the community, and advance them in the full daylight of literature, where they meet the chances of examination and exposure—these we can meet in their own field—we can despise, or pity, or disregard. But the seducers of the youthful mind, the poisoners of the first milk of knowledge, we know not how to treat,—we know not with what arms to meet, as we are in doubt with what feelings to regard them. Naturalists tell of an insect, which deposits its egg within the shell of the almond while it is yet tender. The embryo comes into life, finds its food prepared, and destroying the vegetable life to which it owes its own, at length acquires strength to burst its way through the shell which has gradually hardened around it. But here the process of moral corruption is still more complete. The foul deposit of prejudice, which is thus introduced into the mind becomes itself the agent by which the better feelings of the heart are hardened ; it builds up an impenetrable wall, through which no light of knowledge can enter ; and the energies of that mind, which Providence destined for a wider sphere, are wasted and perish within the narrow circle which was marked out while it was yet unable to select for itself. And these men talk of the "inalienable right" of private judgment, and glory in its imagined exercise ! As well call the blind man to admire the exquisite shades of a painting, or the rich and varied hues of an insect or a flower !—From the tone of the extract given above, we need not be surprised to find the writer exulting in the prospect of the speedy downfall of Papal power, and assuring the reader, that "His Holiness is now treated, even by the Roman Catholic princes, with little more ceremony than is due to him as *Bishop of Rome* and as possessed of a temporal Principality ; and it is reasonable to suppose, he will ere long be reduced to the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions only."

Another author* more cautiously insinuates, that "the stability of both his spiritual and temporal kingdoms has been shaken to its very centre, though, of that colossal power which it was the work of ages to erect, it will take *some time yet* to complete the final overthrow." We are not alarmed by these predictions, confident as is their tone. The majesty of age hangs around the eternal city—the same holy unseen watchman still guards her consecrated hills—from her hoary watch-towers still echoes the same mysterious call:—

"Tutti tornate alla gran Madre antica!"

The character of the Spaniards and Neapolitans is such as one might expect from the general tone of the book. But we must say that we were scarcely prepared to hear, of a people whom we know from other sources than the report of the tourist or the geographer, that "the manner of life of the lower Irish is but little removed *from that of a savage*, and their ignorance is extreme," though "the *higher orders* are noted for their bravery and generous hospitality." Either the author presumed on the flattered pride of the "higher orders," for indulgence with regard to the rest of the character, or we must suppose him to have set their judgment at defiance, as completely as another writer† of the same stamp disregards our powers of vision, assuring us gravely, that "the complexion of Irish females of the lower order *resembles the colour of smoked ham*"!! Heaven help us! not even our personal appearance can escape! This is even worse than Tasso's character of our forefathers, "*irsuti*," "hairy-men."

"Questi de l'alte selve *irsuti* manda
La divisa del mondo ultima Irlanda."

Although the subject has led us already much farther than we anticipated or intended, we cannot refrain, notwithstanding, from producing one other example. The field of classic literature was long free from sectarian animosity. It seems to have ever been, even to the most angry polemic, what it was to Cicero in his day—a place of relaxation, where all bitterness was forgotten—*ubi aures convicio defessæ conquiescant*. Sometimes its weapons were pressed into the service of rival commentators; but, on the whole, there was but little bitterness in their use. The mysterious *procul este profani* seems to have retained its influence. Men

* Guy's Geography, p. 76.

† Goldsmith's Geography, for the use of schools and young persons. It is needless to multiply examples. What connexion there may be between the study of geography, and phrases such as "Monkish ignorance," "iniquities of priestcraft, tyranny of Rome" &c. (Guy pp. 50-66, &c.) we willingly profess ourselves unable to divine.

entered upon these studies with the feelings of the initiated ; and, carried back to the period when these differences were yet unknown, they were beguiled into a momentary forgetfulness of their existence. However there are some instances of a contrary disposition ; and to us the following appears to be a remarkable one.

Some years since an edition of *Livy*, with English notes, was published in Dublin, by Mr. James Prendeville, Scholar, T.C.D. We do not mean to consider its merits as a compilation here. Still keeping in view that relation of the subject which we have been hitherto discussing, we mean simply to call attention to the *Preface*, or the *Life of Livy*, into which the editor has contrived to introduce the exploded charge against St. Gregory the Great : although he seems to have some misgivings, that, to adopt his own words, it is not quite "pertinent" to the subject.

He is accounting, in an ill-tempered and worse written introduction, for the mutilation of his author :—

"When the empire was dismembered, and the chair of the Pontiff seated in the place of the throne of the Cæsars, *the tolerant and sober spirit of the Gospel was for a time forgotten*, and the dark and sullen genius of superstition, that is ever deaf to the voice of reason, and shrinks with horror from the light of knowledge, ruled the world. Then a false and mischievous zeal for religion completed the devastation of unlettered barbarism. *The monks of that period were foremost in the crusade against literature*, though afterwards it must be confessed it owed obligations to some of them. And Pope Gregory the Great, one of that order, that he *may*, 'at one fell swoop,' abolish all heathen recollections and heathen learning, in a pious fury set fire to the Palatine library, the great arsenal of all the learning of antiquity, and burned it to ashes. It is said *Livy* was the chief object of his holy animosity."—pp. 12-13.

He continues to detail the work of destruction in the East, under the followers of Mahomet, the burning of the library of Alexandria, &c., and concludes from all, taken together :—

"So that so far from enquiring, why *the works* of these great lights of antiquity, those fathers and ornaments of history, poetry, science, and philosophy, whose very names are enough to awaken high emotions, have not been *wafted down the stream of time*, our wonder should be, that a single fragment had been saved from the universal wreck, made by barbarians, infidels, monks, and fanatics."

For this clumsy charge against St. Gregory, as well as the general accusation, in which he connects monks with infidels, fanatics, and barbarians, Mr. P. produces no authority. He does not think it necessary to offer a single reference. It would be impossible to throw a greater air of certainty around the narrative of the destruction of Carthage, or the building of Rome :

not a single word of doubt, not a particle of hesitation. The existence of the Palatine library could not be told more confidently than its destruction by order of St. Gregory is recounted here. Why, we would ask, does he not produce his authority? Why not allow his readers to judge for themselves? Shall we say, he dared not? He must have known, or if he knew not, his temerity in preferring such a charge, without examination, is no less censurable—that the tale is not told positively by any writer of respectability; and that even those who support it most strenuously, betray, by their efforts to render it plausible, the weakness of the ground on which it rests. Among the retailers of calumny at second-hand it has long been current, and, perhaps, with some it may have acquired credit enough to warrant a brief examination.

We might content ourselves with a negative refutation. A charge, which the enemies of Christianity, the habitual revilers of the Fathers of the Church, left, as they found, without confirmation, may be well presumed really destitute of authority. Where the researches of Bayle, of Barbeyrac, of Gibbon, have been without success, there is little chance that a writer, who does not refer even to these, will add much weight by his unsupported assertion. We shall begin with Bayle. To appreciate properly the value of his testimony, when it is favourable to St. Gregory, it is only necessary to glance at the article (Gregoire I) from which we quote. Nothing can exceed its virulence. Every action misrepresented, every motive misconstrued—all the slanders of former calumniators extracted, and with the writer's usual policy, if not positively adopted, at least proposed as subjects of legitimate doubt. And yet, when he comes to consider the story in question, even he discards the evidence on which it is grounded.

"It is not certain," says he, "that he (Gregory) commanded the noble monuments of the ancient magnificence of Rome to be destroyed, in order to prevent the strangers, who visited the city, from bestowing more attention on the triumphal arches, &c., than on holy things. The same may be said with regard to the charge of having burned an immense number of Pagan books, particularly those of the historian Livy."—Tom. ii. p. 1385. In a note he adds, "I have not met this except in Johannes Sarisberiensis, and therefore do not give much credit to it."

Barbeyrac, too, although his language with regard to St. Gregory is most unmeasured, is forced into the same acknowledgment.

"I shall not advance here the charge which has been made against this Pontiff, of having burned, through a mistaken zeal, an immense number of Pagan works. *The accusation is not sufficiently substantiated.*"—*Morale des Pères*, c. xvii. p. 332.

Let us now then see how far Gibbon, with whom at least Mr. P. professes an acquaintance, bears out the charge which he so confidently puts forward.

"It is commonly believed that Pope Gregory I attacked the temples and mutilated the statues of the city; that, by the command of the barbarian, the Palatine library was reduced to ashes; and the history of Livy was the peculiar mark of his absurd and mischievous fanaticism. The writings of Gregory himself, reveal his implacable aversion to the monuments of classic genius; and he points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop, who taught the art of grammar, studied the Latin poets, and pronounced with the same voice the praises of Jupiter and those of Christ. *But the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and recent.* The temple of Peace, the theatre of Marcellus, *have been demolished by the slow operation of ages,* and a *formal proscription* would have multiplied the copies of Virgil and Livy, in the countries which were not subject to the Ecclesiastical dictator."—Vol. v. p. 449.

He subjoins in a note,

"Bayle, in a very good article (Grégoire I), has quoted for the statues and buildings, *Platina in Gregorio I*; for the Palatine library, John of Salisbury; and for Livy, Antoninus of Florence. *The oldest of the three lived in the XIIth century.*"

What shall we say of the candour or good faith of one, who tells, without a syllable of doubt or hesitation, a story which he must have read in Gibbon, was a "vulgar belief," resting on "recent and uncertain evidence," the earliest author who relates it having "lived in the XIIth century," *nearly six hundred years after St. Gregory?*

We cannot refrain from noticing, as we pass, one or two instances of that insincerity, with which the historian of the *Decline and Fall* has been so frequently taxed. In the passage already quoted, we are told that St. Gregory "points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop who studied the Latin poets." There needs but a reference to the Pontiff's own words* to show that the meaning has been grossly misrepre-

* This passage, which is taken from the 49th letter of the 9th book, we transcribe entire. "*Cum multa nobis bona de vestris studiis fuissent nuntiata, ita corde nata est letitia, ut ea quæ sibi paternitas vestra concedenda poposcerat, minime negare valeremus. Sed post hoc pervenit ad nos quod sine verecundia memorare non possumus fraternitatem tuam grammaticam quibusdam exponere; quam rem ita moleste suscepimus ac sumus vehementius aspernati, ut ea quæ prius dicta sunt, in gemitum et tristitiam verteremus; quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt, et quam grave nefandumque sit episcopo canere, quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera.*"

Let the case be brought home to ourselves. The first symptom which pointed to the decay of literature and eloquence at Rome, as in every other country, was the gradual introduction of a false and corrupt taste among those who still continued to cultivate them. The strong and dignified beauty of its early masters was disregarded—the degrading and demoralizing study of such writers as Martial and Catullus took

sented. In a truly paternal letter he complains that the bishop employs his time in teaching or explaining the principles of grammar. But he speaks not one word of condemnation on his private studies: and, we believe there are few who will not join in condemning the conduct of a bishop, who, in a barbarous and imperfectly converted district, should forget the important duties of his responsible office, and devote that time, which is the property of his flock, to the unepiscopal employment of teaching a grammar school. We are told again, in the note, that for the charge of having mutilated the buildings and statues, "Bayle quotes Platina in Gregorio I.:" nothing could be more disingenuous. It is true that Bayle cites Platina in reference to the charge; but, in the very second line he speaks of him as expressly rejecting it. It appears absolutely impossible to mistake his meaning, for he gives the entire passage from Platina, which no one could misunderstand. The fact is that he alludes to the accusation *only for the purpose of refuting it*.*

We have no difficulty in saying that the testimony of such men, deriving additional weight from their well-known hostility to religion, may place the matter beyond dispute. Let us examine it, however, upon its own merits. St. Gregory lived at the close of the sixth century. The history of a pontificate so active could not possibly remain long unrecorded. Accordingly we have two early lives of the Saint, by the deacons John and

its place. Suppose a bishop under such circumstances to lend the sanction of his example to a study which, in the words of Gregory, "*nec laico religioso conveniat*." Suppose him further, in a country where all his efforts were scarce sufficient to keep alive the spirit of religion in the hearts of an ignorant and barbarous people, to devote his time to a pursuit under circumstances of a very questionable character, and at best incompatible with his really important duties, can it be doubted that the very men who are thus severe upon St. Gregory, would be the first to join in the general dissatisfaction?

There is an anecdote told of a celebrated Bishop, which we recommend to all those, whose life is a practical censure upon St. Gregory: his appointment to the see of Avranches did not at all abate the unwearied application to study for which he had always been remarkable. It frequently happened in consequence, that persons calling on business were dismissed on the plea that the bishop was engaged at his studies. The inconvenience, often repeated, at last provoked the simple but significant exclamation, "Would to heaven the king would send us a bishop who had finished his studies."

* "*Neque est cur patiamur hac in re a quibusdam potissimum litterarum ignavis carpi; quod suo mandato veterum ædificia sint directa, ne peregrini et advenæ (ut ipsi fingunt) ad urbem religionis causa venientes, posthabitis locis sacris, arcus triumphales et monumenta veterum cum admiratione inspicerent. Absit hæc calumnia a tanto Pontifice Romano præsertim cui patria certe post Deum, quam vita carior fuit. Multa profecto ex collapsis ædificiis exedit vetustas. Multa præterea demoluntur homines ædificandi gratia ut quotidie cernimus. . . . Gregorius autem, confirmata omni ratione Ecclesia Dei, Anno xiii, mense sexto, die decimo, sui pontificatus moritur et sepelitur collachrymantibus omnibus in Basilica Petri, &c.*—*Plat in Greg. i: p. 54.*

Paul. But neither do these biographers, nor any of the historians of that period, advert once to a fact, which, if true, must of its own nature have been notorious. Five centuries elapsed—still not a single trace of its existence. At length, near the close of the sixth century from the pontificate of Gregory, one writer is discovered; and upon this foundation the entire story is built. The writer in question is John of Salisbury,* in an exceedingly curious work, entitled *Policraticus sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis Philosophorum*. "But if the pursuits of mathematicians were praiseworthy, the great Augustin would not have regretted so much that he devoted himself to their consultations. Moreover, the most holy Doctor Gregory, who irrigated and inebriated the whole Church, with the honeyed stream of his eloquence, not only banished mathematics from his court, but, as it is *handed down from our forefathers*, condemned to the flames

"Scripta Palatinus quæcumque tenebat Apollo."†

There is a second allusion to the story in the eighth book, "*Fertur bibliothecam combussisse gentilem;*"‡ and this is the sum of the evidence upon which it rests—the testimony of a single writer six centuries posterior to the fact—who has not confidence enough in the truth of his statement to give it upon his own authority, but deems it necessary to qualify the narrative by a *fertur, traditur a majoribus!* He is not even a regular historian; for then his professional research might have supplied him with means of information unattainable to others. If he occasionally introduces historical facts, it is but for the purpose of illustration; and, in this instance, it is abundantly evident, that the position which he wishes to establish, would lead him to press an obscure or doubtful tradition into his service.

Principle and practice are very different things; and it is often amusing to observe how little trouble is taken to reconcile them. A fact is attested by two or three, or even more contemporary writers; but it happens to clash with some favourite opinion. At once a thousand causes are shown, why the evidence should not be admitted—perhaps it is rejected without attempting to show cause at all. On the other hand, a single unsupported writer, at the distance of four or five centuries, relates a story which favours some long-cherished prejudice. He is dragged at

* John of Salisbury died in 1104. He was the contemporary and friend of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He accompanied him in his exile, and at his last hour, in the effort to shield him from the sacrilegious violence of his assassins, was himself dangerously wounded. His work was translated by the historian Mezeray under the title, *Vanités des Cours*.†

† Lib. ii. c. 26, p. 104.

‡ Lib. viii. c. 19, p. 557.

once from his obscurity, and rises to all the honours of unquestionable authority. This is precisely the case here. The very men who laugh at the idea of tradition, considered as a source from which divine truth may be derived, and fritter it away, even when regarded as a history of passing events, or a register of existing opinions, if among these writers whom they professedly disregard, they find one favourable to a particular view, at once adopt his authority; and, as if their credulity were all condensed into this single point, cling to it with a tenacity which no argument can shake. The extent of the absurdity, in this particular instance, is strongly put by Tiraboschi.*

"Were I to ask him (M. Brucker), 'whether he believed the story of the liberation of Trajan's soul from hell, at the intercession of St. Gregory?' he would laugh at the question, and perhaps resent my boldness in proposing it. If I added, in confirmation, that it was related by a writer of the twelfth century, he would tell me that these ages were fertile in such fables; that it betrays no less ignorance than weakness and superstition in the narrator; and that there needs but little discernment to discover its absurdity. Such would be his reply, as it would be that of any judicious writer.

"Well; this very John of Salisbury, whom M. B. describes as 'learned beyond his age,' 'a writer of the highest character throughout the Church,' 'a most distinguished member of the university of Paris,' displaying the rarest critical acumen, &c. &c. —this very man, on whom such extravagant encomiums are heaped, in order to add weight to his narrative of the burning of the Palatine Library, recounts the legend of Trajan with the utmost gravity. These are his words: '*Virtutes ejus legitur commendasse. S. P. Gregorius, et, fuis pro eo lachrymis, infervium compescuisse incendia.*' After relating the virtuous action by which Trajan merited this reward, he continues, 'The Holy Pontiff is said to have wept until it was revealed that Trajan was released; but on condition that he should not again presume to intercede for an infidel.' (lib. v. c. viii.) Does M. Brucker, then, believe the tale? And yet, on what principle does he refuse to believe? Let him only read over the long passage, in which he himself seeks to establish the writer's credibility in reference to the burning of the Palatine Library, and he will find that all his arguments are equally forcible here. Here, too, it may be alleged, that 'he refers to ancient documents, in which the fact was recorded,' *legitur, fertur*; that 'he abstains from giving his authority, because, in a matter so notorious, it was

* Lett. Ital. T. v. p. 179-82.

enough to hint at the common tradition, that, although he wrote in the face of the entire Church, and in the heart of the University of Paris, not one was found to question or deny the statement; and, therefore, all by their silence confirmed the narrative, as known to the whole world, and reflecting glory on the memory of the saint.' Notwithstanding all these cogent reasons, I have no doubt he will continue incredulous. He must acknowledge, therefore, that this author of his is not of such profound judgment as he would represent; that he relates matters which common sense pronounces impossible; that his *fertur, traditur, dicitur*, only indicate popular traditions, destitute of solid foundation; in one word, that he is not one in whom we can place unqualified confidence. Will any one say of an author who seriously relates the liberation of Trajan from hell, that we are bound to believe him implicitly, when, six centuries after the fact, without adducing a single proof, with a single *fertur, traditur a majoribus*, he tells us that the Palatine Library was burnt by order of St. Gregory? I put it to the common-sense of M. Brucker himself. He is too clear-sighted not to perceive, that, in this instance, he suffered himself to be carried away by the prejudices of his party, who have declared a bitter and implacable war against the memory of this Pontiff.*

Surely this is enough. The nature of the evidence on which the accusation is founded—the total absence of any conceivable motive for the act, which, as Gibbon justly observes, would have defeated its object by multiplying the copies—the silence of five centuries in reference to a fact so remarkable—the faltering and uncertain tone of the testimony—the distance of time and consequent obscurity of a tradition unsupported by documents—all conspire, we will not say to shake, but to destroy, its probability. And yet this is the charge which, without a single expression of disbelief or even of doubt, Mr. James Prendeville has the temerity or dishonesty to introduce in a place to which, as he himself avows, it was not by any means “pertinent”! Surely the lite-

* We have said above that the biographer of the saint makes no allusion to this fact, too remarkable to have escaped his notice. We may go farther. It is impossible to reconcile the picture which he has drawn of the court of Gregory, with the act itself, or the motive in which it is said to have originated.

“Tunc rerum sapientia Romæ sibi templum visibiliter quodammodo fabricavit, et septemPLICIBUS artibus veluti columnis, Apostolicæ sedis atrium fulciebat. Nullus pontifici famulantium barbarum quodlibet in sermone, vel habitu præferebat; sed togata, Quiritum more, seu trabeata Latinitas, secum Latium, in ipsa Latiali palatio, singulariter obtinebat. Refloruerant ibi diversarum artium studia; et qui vel sanctimonia, vel prudentia forte carebat, suo ipsius judicio subsistendi coram Pontifice fiduciam non habebat.”—Vita Gregorii a Johanne Diacono conscripta. Prefixed to the Benedict. Edit. of the Works of St. Gregory, tom. i. p. 24.

rary delinquency alleged against St. Gregory is innocent in comparison with the injustice of his accuser ! The laws of civilized war scarcely tolerate the barbarity which cuts off the spring by which the inhabitants of a beleaguered city are supplied—what shall we say of the treacherous malignity which poisons its waters, that they may more securely destroy the unsuspecting victim !

We have already declared that our object in this inquiry is not so much to explain the full extent of the evil, as to direct to it the attention of the public, so long and unaccountably withheld. It may be imagined that we have exaggerated its extent, and that our premises do not warrant the wide and sweeping conclusion we are disposed to draw. We should rejoice, though at the expense of our own logic, that the statement were either exaggerated or untrue. But, unfortunately, those who have examined will feel with us, that it is but too accurate.

For ourselves, when we turn to the school-books almost every where in use, we know not what feeling predominates in our mind—indignation at the petty bigotry which has corrupted them all—or astonishment at the apathy of a people in other matters so discerning. Surely we may, now at least, indulge a hope that it will not any longer be tolerated. We appeal to those who are most deeply interested—the parents and guardians throughout the kingdom. The advice of Quintilian with regard to a youth's pronunciation should not be forgotten, surely, when his principles are at stake,—“*Nedum infans quidem est sermoni qui dediscendus est assurecat.*”

The question, however, is more important in its religious than it could possibly be in its social relation. Misrepresentation, unfortunately, seems to be almost inseparable from difference of opinion. It is always unsafe to decide on the report of an adversary ; and in selecting a religious creed among the many which are offered for examination, the utmost caution must be used to ascertain without prejudice the distinctive doctrines of each. How, we repeat, can any one discuss fairly the truth of the Catholic religion, if he has been taught from his childhood to lisp of its “foul idolatries” ?—if his youthful mind has been filled with horror of its superstitions, its intolerance and hostility to science ?—if his fancy be fed in manhood with representations of the profligacy of prelates, the fraud and falsehood of priests, the besotted ignorance of the people ?

We would, again and again, remind our Protestant fellow-countrymen how much more difficult all this must be in the exercise of their leading principle. For all a degree of examination is necessary : but for the Catholic, the process is comparatively simple—once convinced, either by argument, or by the

experience of his own incompetency to decide for himself, that he must follow some divinely-authorized guide in the regulation of his religious opinions, an easy comparison will determine what Church has the strongest claims on his obedience; and here all his anxiety ceases. Henceforward, "her people becomes his people," "her God is his God." He submits his faith to her guidance with all the confidence which the authority of God himself can communicate. But it is not so with the Protestant inquirer. Instead of confining his inquiry to the general question of authority, he is obliged to explore every single doctrine, to grapple with every separate difficulty. He must traverse the wide and trackless sea of conflicting opinions, which lies between the humble faith of the Catholic on the one hand, and the unyielding scepticism of the infidel on the other—traverse it without a pilot, unaided and alone—

Αἰτὸς ἔων ἐρέτης, ἀντόστολος, ἀντόματος νῆς.

We chose the Catholic religion as an illustration of the difficulty, because no other has suffered so much from misrepresentation. Of the various sects into which Christianity is divided, some are too insignificant to provoke the hostility of their rivals; in others, the characteristic difference is too slight or too speculative to afford much room for animadversion; and in all there is one common bond by which they are held together—their common protest against Catholicity. But the Catholic Church has none of these claims to forbearance. In age and extent she is apart from all her rivals. The line of separation is broad and distinct, excluding all, without exception, who do not subscribe to her authority. Hence, at all times, and in all places, she has drawn upon herself the hostility and abuse of all sectarians, without any exception. What wonder, then, that her doctrines are misconceived, and her morality misrepresented? The very name of Catholic has been a bar to inquiry. Like the gloomy inscription of Dante's hell,—

"Per me si va nella citta dolente,"

it has frightened away the timid though perhaps sincere inquirer after truth; and thus the very license engendered by the principle of private judgment in religion, has been rendered one of the worst obstacles to the freedom of its exercise.

Enough, we are convinced, has been said to satisfy every unbiassed mind. We have written with some degree of warmth, because we feel strongly the evils of the present disgraceful system. We repeat once more our confidence, that it cannot be tolerated longer. We appeal against its continuance to the honesty and candour of the community—to the Catholic, because it is an insult to that religion with which his dearest hopes are

associated—to the Protestant, because it makes a mockery of the first principle of his creed—to all in common, because it is a violation of truth and justice—an outrage against that charity and peace which, as men and Christians, they are in common bound to cherish.

ART. IV.—1. *History of the Inductive Sciences from the earliest to the present times.* By the Rev. Wm. Whewell, M.A., &c. London. 1837.

2. (Drinkwater's) *Life of Galileo.* Lib. Useful Knowledge.

3. *History of Philosophy.* By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A., F.R.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. London. 1837.

THERE are few subjects on which more has been written, and less understood, than the story of Galileo, and his far-famed persecution. We allude not merely to those writers who have manifestly allowed their prejudices and strong religious antipathies to darken over this page of history. The remark applies in an almost equal degree to writers of every shade of liberality—even to Catholics. We are told, for instance, by an ecclesiastical historian writing on the spot (Bernini, *Historia delle Heresie*), that this celebrated man was imprisoned for five years! Others, according to the report of Montucla, have asserted that his eyes were put out. Montucla himself, that he was kept in prison for a year. So late as our own times, *Pontecoulant* in France will tell you, in a grand flourish, “that this great man upheld the rotation of the earth on its axis, even in the dungeons of the Inquisition; and, securing followers for his system by his example, became its martyr;” (*Traité Analytique, discours préliminaire*;) while at home, we have Sir David Brewster bearing testimony at one moment to Galileo’s “confinement for a year,” (see *Brewster’s Encyclopædia, Art. Astronomy*,) and the next, confessing that, in saying so, he has been led astray by the misstatements of “*many distinguished writers*” who had gone before him. Still, these are but errors of minor importance, which are fast disappearing before the increasing light of history. It is in their relation to the general questions of religion and science, and the mutual bearings of these one upon the other, that the misconceptions and misstatements of writers will be found to be most general, most stubborn, and of most importance.

A belief is sought to be induced that the persecution of Galileo is but one fact among many, indicative of the same temper; that

the spirit it betrays has ever been an habitual feeling in the Church, manifesting itself at one time in a more, at another in a less prominent degree; but ever regarding the doctrines and conclusions of science with an eye of jealousy and mistrust; that the quiescence of the earth, *in particular*, was once a *dogma of faith*; that it was precisely for his scientific inculcation of the opposite *truth*, that the distinguished man before us was prosecuted and persecuted; that the Inquisition condemned and proscribed the Copernican views; and that the Inquisition is an authority decisive with Catholics on doctrinal points, whose province it is to declare what is, and what is not, to be believed in the Church,—what is, and what is not, to be regarded as heresy.

Such are the persuasions invariably produced by the perusal of even the best writers on the subject in this country. Of these we have selected a few to place at the head of this article. Some appear to us bigotted, even to a disgusting degree; while others, though, we regret to say, not the greater in number, as a sort of relief, are exempt from this charge,—not, however, that the latter are wholly free from the errors we have noticed. There seems to be a something in the education of an English Protestant that incapacitates him from looking at this and many other facts in history in their true point of view.* But we give them credit for being above the *vulgar* prejudices of their creed and country. They manifest, and we have pleasure in recording it, a disposition to state the truth as they find it, without fear or favour; and they try, so at least it appears to us, to divest themselves of every feeling that could give an undue bias to their judgment. Now, it is principally from men of this stamp,—men, who, like the historian of the *Inductive Sciences*, know how to place themselves on an eminence, that observations, such as we have mentioned, come upon us with an increase of weight which entitles them to notice; and therefore it is that we deem it a duty to take the earliest opportunity of disabusing the candid among our countrymen of misconceptions so erroneous in themselves, and so injurious to the character of our religion and its ministers. Let us not, however, be mistaken. We are not the apologists of the Inquisition,—our's is a far higher object. It is expressed in the words of Kepler, which might serve for our motto, "*Sanctum quidem officium: at nobis magis sancta veritas.*" It is to relieve religion from imputations under which it has no right to labour, and to place the blame, if blame there be, stating its nature and amount, at the doors of those, and those only, who have to account

* In this respect, it must be confessed, our countrymen lose by a comparison with their fellow-religionists on the continent, and particularly in Germany.

for it. It would indeed be a mistake, more to be regretted than any which the darkest calumnies have gathered round the subject, if we should appear to sanction for a moment the belief that we enter on a task, which many will think so unpromising, from any uncomfortable sense of the necessity that presses on us, as Catholics, of vindicating the persons or the tribunal concerned. Why should we be called on to answer for the misdeeds, real or imaginary, of that celebrated institution? What possible bond of interest can be assigned to connect us with its doings? All that we venerate as Catholics in our hierarchy, had its birth in the institution of Jesus Christ. Now, the Inquisition had its rise in the wars of the Albigenses,—that is, just 1300 years too late for *us* to feel any very vital interest in it. Far from being an essential part of our Christian system, it is, in its nature, local and accidental, depending for its existence upon the will of the princes that respectively adopted it, as a sort of half-ecclesiastical, half-civil police establishment, for the punishment and prevention of every attempt to disturb the religious tranquillity of the people over whom they ruled. Its constitution is far from uniform, varying according to the wisdom or caprice of the politicians that adopted it. Superlatively cruel in Spain,—more mild and sparing of human life (despite whatever the ignorant or malevolent may say) in Rome,—adopted in a few countries,—it was rejected by the many. In short, any one of our readers may turn Catholic as soon as he pleases, with the predetermination of rating this tribunal at every convenient opportunity for his pastime; whatever might be thought of such person's taste, no one will call his orthodoxy, at least, in question. The truth is, some of the most vigorous attacks on its character and constitution have proceeded from the pens of Catholic writers,—witness Fleury and Bercastel, whose strong religious attachments admit of no doubt. The personal characters, then, of the seven cardinals who drew up the famous decree of 1633, and of the Pontiff in whose reign, and with whose sanction it issued, are alone concerned in the decision at which the public may either now or hereafter arrive; and so far as that may be supposed to possess any interest for us, the world is at liberty to think us interested,—but how slender and remote is the tie! That decree, we shall shew, does not pretend to be a dogmatic decree, decisive of any point of doctrine; but were the case even otherwise, it would prove no more than that those who were never gifted by Christ with inerrancy, have erred. It was not to seven cardinals that the Redeemer said, "Go, teach all nations," and "behold I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world." The Sovereign Pontiff did *not* appear in the issuing of the de-

cree; but even if he did, it would remain to be seen in what capacity he shewed himself, whether as temporal prince, presiding over the public order of the community submitted to his charge, or as Bishop of the *particular Church* and *See* of Rome;—the first among equals;—or, finally, as Supreme Head of the Church addressing himself to the nations of Christendom, commanding their wills “to captivate their understandings to the obedience of faith.” In the last instance alone would the decision take the form of a doctrinal decree, and even as such, until it should be strengthened by the acceptance of the great body of the hierarchy, it is the belief of a large section of divines, that it might be rejected without at least breaking the bond of Catholic unity. What, then, when not one particle of all this appears? Nay, we go a step farther, and we say it is *the unanimous doctrine of theologians, now and then*, that even the universal Church, could it be supposed capable of adopting such a decree, could not make it binding on the consciences of Catholics; and, for this reason, that it would pretend to declare a certain doctrine as philosophically false.* Now Christ did not promise to be with his Church teaching philosophy, but to be with it teaching “all things whatsoever I have commanded you.” Among which, assuredly, the conclusions of philosophy did not form any part; we have explained ourselves at this length, to show how very remote and slender is the tie of sympathy between us and the actors in this memorable transaction; how very far, indeed, the conclusion, be it what it may that shall be adopted, is from implicating any one point of either belief or practice to which, as Catholics, we are attached. It is of use, also, in showing how dishonest are the artifices of several writers, upon this and such like subjects, who, glad to detect any real or supposed flaw in the character or conduct of the dignitaries and chief pastors of the Church, contrive to make the whole responsible for the acts of a few, by constantly fastening such things on “*the Church of Rome*,”—thus screening their dishonesty under an ambiguous phrase, without having the candour to apprise their readers, that *the Church of Rome* may, at one time, signify the particular See of that city, and, at another, the universal Church in communion therewith. To illustrate what we have been saying, we shall not go beyond the late English biographer of Galileo, a gentleman for whose work we had a long time been in unsuccessful

* We accommodate ourselves for the moment to the ideas of those who suppose that the above was the decision of the Inquisition itself in 1633; whereas it was only that of the “*Qualifiers*”—subordinate officers of the Inquisition, and not of the Inquisitors themselves, who merely recite this with the other particulars of the proceeding of 1616, in the *preamble* of their judgment of 1633.

quest, by the name of *Drinkwater's Life of Galileo*, without being aware, that it was identical with the anonymous "*Life*" in the *Library of Useful Knowledge*,—a circumstance which we mention to account for our very tardy notice of the production. In this work, one confessedly of great ability, but we regret to be obliged to add, where Rome and its religion are concerned, not of equal candour, the biographer has, in the most disingenuous manner, misrepresented, and thereby sought to do away with the effect of, a very simple observation of the accomplished historian of Italian literature, Tiraboschi; who, in speaking of the condemnation of Galileo, had mentioned, that "this too rigorous censure had proceeded solely from the Inquisition of Rome, and that amongst the most zealous Catholics, not one had ever attributed to that tribunal the privileges of infallibility." This observation, Mr. Drinkwater* has the hardihood, with the original text staring him in the face in his own note, to describe as "an attempt to draw a somewhat subtle distinction between the Bulls of the Popes and the Inquisitorial decrees, sanctioned and approved by him," though there is not one word in the Italian's remarks concerning Bulls of the Popes. Mr. Drinkwater farther describes Tiraboschi as *regarding it as a special mark of grace, that the head of the Church was not permitted to compromise his infallible character, by formally condemning the opinions of Copernicus*, though, neither in this case, is there one word in the original regarding the head of the Church, or his infallible character, or his condemning the opinions of Copernicus!

Next, after misrepresenting, comes the task of disproving the statement of the Italian,—and how is this accomplished? By producing a Catholic zealous enough to claim infallibility for the Roman Inquisition? No,—but he finds in the musty volumes of some antiquated professor, a Bull of Sixtus V, establishing a *sensorship of the press, under the title of the Congregation of the Index*, and directing, that after the members of the congregation shall have duly examined each work, and made their report thereon to the reigning Pontiff, they shall proceed by, and with his authority, to condemn the same. Who can now refuse to believe, that in the opinion of the said professor and *all good Catholics*, the Inquisition is infallible?—though, to find out what the Congregation of the Index has to do with the Inquisition, or either with infallibility, would puzzle any one but Mr. Drinkwater.

But this writer has another specimen of his own peculiar dialectics to bring up in aid of the last bright conclusion. It appears, the so-called Jesuit editors of Newton,—the same being

* Life of Galileo, (Lib. U. Knowledge), chap. xiii. versus finem.

Minims and not Jesuits, apologize in a short monitum prefixed to the third book of the "*Principia*," for having assumed the earth's motion. These are their concluding words, "We profess to pay the obsequious reverence which is due to the decrees of the Supreme Pontiffs against the earth's motion;" therefore, (he leaves us to conclude), the said decrees are, in the sentiment of the good fathers, once more infallible.

Why, none of the Popes have ever claimed for themselves half the infallibility which Mr. Drinkwater lavishes on them;—not only all the decrees emanating from the Pope in person, even those, which he never dreamt of being looked at in that light,—nay, those which, like the decrees respecting the earth's motion, merely regulate external discipline, are infallible; but every subordinate functionary acting in the name, and by the authority of his Holiness, is immediately invested with the awful prerogative; and then, by favour of Mr. Drinkwater, instead of one Pope we shall have dozens; and as for decrees, we shall be blessed with some scores of these infallible missives, of which we never dreamt even in our most glorious visions,—how much obliged should we not be? *O nimium felices sua si, &c.* But to be serious, we cannot help thinking, that Mr. Drinkwater might easily have found some more creditable exercise for those talents which we cheerfully acknowledge him to possess, than in the ungracious attempt to deprive any portion of his fellow Christians of the benefit that might arise from their own exposition of their own principles, by vainly pretending to understand those principles better than those who profess them. That creatures with inferior powers, should try to supply the defect of natural ability, by pandering to the well-known religious antipathies of their readers, by misrepresentations of Catholic tenets, is what we can easily understand, and what we daily behold with silent commiseration; but that such as Mr. Drinkwater should stoop to the degrading practice, argues a depravity of taste,—to say no more, that must dim the lustre of the brightest talents. We should grieve to think that all his brethren were equally illiberal, but no, we have pleasure in being able to state, that there are, or at least have been, in the ranks of Protestantism, minds sufficiently enlarged and sufficiently candid to do us justice even on this point, though it is necessary to travel into Germany to find such a one. The celebrated *Christian Wolf*—a name that will continue to command respect, when that of Mr. Drinkwater shall be forgotten, has repeatedly, not only acknowledged, but urged in proof of the unbounded liberty of thinking on this subject, that there is nothing in the decrees or principles of our Church to hinder the most scrupulous Catholic from embracing whatever

side of the question may seem to him best.—*Vide Element. Astron. Pars ii. cap. iv. de Systemate Plan. Schol. v. et alibi pluries.*

But if even our biographer were to take the trouble to correctly inform himself of the truth of the facts he is pleased to record against us, we should not have so much cause to complain. "This coy reluctance" he facetiously proceeds in the next paragraph, "to admit what nobody doubts, *has survived to the present time*, for Bailli informs us that the utmost endeavours of Lalande, when at Rome, to obtain that Galileo's work should be erased from the Index, were entirely ineffectual, in consequence of the decree which had been fulminated against him; and in fact both it, and the book of Copernicus, '*Nisi corrigatur*' are still to be seen on the forbidden list of 1828."

Now hear M. Lalande himself, speaking of this very Index, in his '*Voyage en Italie*,' 12mo. Venice, 1769, tome 5, chap. iii. pp. 48, 49. "On est surpris de voir dans ce catalogue des livres tels que ceux de Copernic, de Boerhaave, qui nous paroissent bien éloignées de tout soupçon d'hérésie; mais il y a dans les hypothèses des Physiciens et des Astronomes des choses qui paroissent quelques fois dangereuses dans leurs conséquences éloignées, et cela suffit pour mettre un livre à l'Index; on a cependant consenti dans la dernière édition" (a little before he says *depuis quelques années*) "à supprimer l'article qui comprenoit tous les livres où l'on soutient le mouvement de la terre: ce système si bien démontré *actuellement* a enfin trouvé grace devant la Congrégation de l'Index; mais il a fallu de la part de savans bien de sollicitations et de démarches." This work of Lalande's is to be found in almost every library. At all events Mr. Drinkwater professes to have read Delambre; this writer could have informed him that Benedict XIV cancelled the decree in question, all infallible as Mr. Drinkwater describes it. Had he even looked into the several editions of Galileo's works which he takes care to recount, he would have found in that of Padua of 1744, the "*Dialoghi che ora esce finalmente alla luce colle debite licenze.*" But it makes little matter if the misstatement which Mr. Drinkwater adopts and transmits—others again shall adopt and transmit from him in their turn. It is only the followers of the Church of Rome it can affect, and to avoid that who would be at the trouble of the slightest research?

We shall return to this writer; he is destined to afford us an occasional diversion "on the dull path we've yet to tread" of toilsome investigation; meanwhile it may be soothing to him to know, there is nothing more familiar in our history, both *before* and since the condemnation of Galileo, than that decisions of the

Inquisition should be rejected or reformed by the higher authorities in our Church. The Council of Trent itself has taught Catholics to place no implicit reliance on its awards and judgments; witness the case of Carranza. But to the immediate question before us. What has been the temper and feeling of the Church in reference to the Copernican views? What, in the words of a Professor of Oxford, Mr. Powell, (*Lardner's Cyclopædia*) *has been their reception by the Church?* If one were to abandon one's self to the impressions invariably produced, industriously or otherwise, by the various writers on the subject in this country, one should think that from the beginning the Church authorities regarded, as we have before observed, the growing opinions with an eye of jealousy and mistrust, and that finally in the days of Galileo this long pent-up jealousy broke out in open rupture, when the Church avowed itself the sworn antagonist of the Heliocentric doctrine; that doctrine which is now universally adopted even in her own schools, and of which, had it depended on her, mankind would have never heard. Now what will our good readers think when we inform them, that it is to this Church of Rome we are mainly indebted for the new theory of the earth's motion,—that in Rome it had its birth—in Rome was fostered and matured—that but for Roman auspices—the countenance of Popes and Cardinals—the adoption of the new theory had in all human probability been thrown back to a distance which it would be now to no purpose to try to calculate. Yes, to the Pontiffs and dignitaries of Rome we are mainly indebted for the Copernican system.

The first to broach that system in modern times was a Cardinal. Destitute and a stranger,—an ultramontane to,—indebted for his very name to the obscure village that gave him birth—Nicholas the Cusan yet had talent, and that was enough to open to him the road to the highest preferment in that Church and nation, which it is the fashion to decry as the enemy of all mental improvement:—but which has ever rewarded virtue and talent, unchecked by that undue regard to aristocratic pride and pretension, which forms so disadvantageous a contrast in the establishments of other lands. Well: how did this poor ultramontane recommend himself? Why he departed from the received opinions of the day,—he abandoned the doctrine of the schools,—he advanced in the teeth of the much exaggerated peripatetic dogmatism, the startling proposition, that "*the earth moves, the sun is at rest,*" and answered the objections from the senses as they have ever been answered, by contending that the illusory impression arises from the same cause which makes one in a ship in motion, fancy the objects on shore to be re-

ceding from him. Nor did he keep these views a secret,—he proclaimed them as best he could. He advanced them to the very steps of the Papal throne, by inscribing them to his former preceptor in Canon Law, the Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini. Subsequently rewarded with the Archdeaconry of Liego, he is found at the Council of Basil in 1431, side by side with the same Cardinal Giuliano, and presenting to that celebrated assembly a treatise on the disorders which had crept into the Calendar, and a proposal for its reformation; that is to say:—he takes up that position in the face of all Christendom, which makes every extraordinary expression of opinion on his part a matter of necessary notoriety and attention. Now what is the consequence?—persecution? Yes! if being raised to the highest dignity in the “Church of Rome,” be persecution. Nicholas the Fifth, that enlightened Pontiff, and patron of learning, creates him Cardinal, and bestows on him the bishopric of Brixen; while the most delicate affairs and important legations are entrusted by four successive Pontiffs to his wisdom and integrity. Such were the unequivocal marks of the esteem and affection with which the Court of Rome continued to honour this daring innovator, without one moment’s interruption, to the close of his valuable life in 1464.

Nor were the works of the good Cardinal allowed to go down with him into the oblivion of the tomb. It was one of the first tasks of the Italian press, to diffuse and perpetuate them under the sanction of another exalted Church name—that of Cardinal Amboise.

The seed fell upon a grateful soil. The men of the next generation took up the idea with ardour; so that the celebrated Leonardo da Vinci, who was a young man when Cusa died, connects, in 1510, his theory of the fall of bodies with the earth’s motion, as a thing already generally received; thereby shewing, as Mr. Whewell justly remarks, “that the Heliocentric doctrine and the truths of mechanics were fermenting in the minds of intelligent men, and gradually assuming clearness and strength, some time before they were publicly asserted.” We shall soon see that this public assertion came somewhat sooner than even Mr. Whewell appears to imagine. Vinci wrote in 1510; already, in 1500, Copernicus was in possession, by invitation, of a professor’s chair in the capital of Catholicism, and delivering lectures on his new theory to overwhelming crowds that flocked to hear him, frequently, says Jacquier, to the number of two thousand (*Insts. Phil.*) This in the very heart of papal Rome. Pretty good evidence of something more than “fermentation” previous to “public assertion.” But where did Copernicus find

this new doctrine, that seems to have won such favour in his own and his Roman auditors' eyes? "His discovery of his system," says Mr. Whewell, "must have occurred before 1507, for in 1543, he informs Pope Paulus III, in his dedication, that he had kept his book by him for four times the nine years recommended by Horace."* Tiraboschi thinks he derived it from his preceptor and friend, Novara; but Thomas Cornelio informs us,† that the prevalent opinion was, that the papers of Jerome of Tallavia, "who gave a good deal of thought to the subject," fell into Copernicus's hands, and were the immediate cause of engrossing all that great man's attention. Cornelio is borne out by the additional testimony of Barbieri‡,—Ginghene, or rather, Salfi, his continuator, thinks it certain; at all events, it was in popish Italy he found the idea which it was the labour and the glory of his life to work out into all its multiplied details.

It was certainly high time now for the "*spiritual tyrant*" to take the alarm, yet we find no symptom of such feeling, unless it is to be found in the Pope's having sought and obtained that great man's assistance in the reformation of the calendar. Upon his retiring from his duties as professor, which he did immediately after, the dignitaries of the Church are found vying with each other in honouring and rewarding that admirable man. They charge themselves with the care of providing for him an honourable and safe retreat; where, above the wants and distractions of life, he may devote the undivided energies of his great mind to the reconstruction of the whole fabric of astronomy.

Nor is he wholly lost sight of in the privacy of his learned retirement. From time to time, reports reach Rome of the progress of his labours: his coming work casts its shadow before. In 1518, we find Celio Calcagnini, the friend and companion of Cardinal Hyppolite D'Este, after journeying with his distinguished patron into Germany and the neighbouring countries, setting himself, upon his return, formally to prove "*Quod Cælum stet, terra autem moveatur.*" What is the consequence? He is taken into favour by two successive Pontiffs, both eminent for their love and protection of science, Clement VII and Paul III; who, in token of their esteem, attach him to the papal court in quality of Proto-Notary Apostolic. Of these, the former, Clement, has left behind him a monument still to be seen in the Royal Library of Munich, of the pleasure which he received on another occasion, in 1533, exactly ten years before the appearance of the "*De Revolutionibus*," from the exposi-

* Whewell's History, vol. i. p. 377.

† Progym. de Universitate.

‡ Notizie istoriche.

tion of the forthcoming system by John Albert Widmanstadt, who had just arrived from Germany. It consists of a volume, in the fly-leaf of which it is mentioned, in the hand-writing of Widmanstadt himself, that the Pontiff had presented it to him in testimony of the gratification he derived from his exposition, delivered by his (the Pontiff's) command in the Vatican Gardens.* As an additional mark of approbation, Widmanstadt was made private secretary to his Holiness.

The second of these enlightened heads of the Catholic world, was one whom the united suffrages of Ariosto, Fracastoro, and Calcagnini, place in the very first rank of the Mæcenates of philosophy and letters. But the most unequivocal testimony of all is to be found in the fact, that Copernicus, from the remote banks of the Vistula, sought and found in Paul III a patron and protector for that system which was to displace the astronomical systems of all former times and of all countries. Long that philosopher hesitated ere he would commit his labour to the judgment of mankind. He knew the boldness of the enterprise, and how ill the world was prepared for the reception of doctrines so new and so startling. He saw that there was but one spot in the universe where he could hope to find minds sufficiently enlarged and enlightened, to give him a favourable hearing. He appealed to Rome, and especially as against the scriptural attacks of the timid and scrupulous religionist. And the successor of St. Peter flung over the infant theory, the shield of his high protection, and secured it a period of eighty years' tranquillity and peace; a period amply sufficient to allow it to strike deep root into the minds of the astronomical world, and obtain for it every just and impartial consideration. But this was not all. Rome did not even wait till its protection was solicited. In the first year (1536) of this Pope's pontificate, it becomes known there that Copernicus is prevented from producing his great work, both by the consideration just mentioned, and by the want of means. Instantly, Cardinal Scomberg (Nicholas), with a generosity that cannot be too highly appreciated, stepped forward, and in the most earnest manner solicited the discoverer no longer to withhold his work from the public; and, in order to remove every objection as to the inadequacy of means, charged himself with all the necessary expenses. Unfortunately, he too soon dies; but another Church dignitary is found to replace him, and, under the encouragement and by the assistance of the Bishop of Eremeland (Gisio), the work is brought to a successful issue, and comes forth to the light bearing on its front the name and the sanction of the head of the Catholic world.

* Marini, *Archiatrui Pontificii*, Salfi.

Let the revilers of the Church of Rome put their finger on any one service commensurate with this, which any one, or all of their Churches together, have ever rendered to science; and then, perhaps, we may listen with patience to their bigoted and one-sided drivellings on the subject of Galileo.

We have said that the protection thus extended to the Copernican System, secured to it a period of nearly eighty years' uninterrupted tranquillity. To this, if we are to believe a writer in *Lardner's Cyclopædia*, Mr. Powell of Oxford, there is one memorable exception in the person of the unfortunate Giordano Bruno. "He attacked the scholastic doctrines with unsparing boldness, and exposed their absurdities to the most deserved ridicule. He was, OF COURSE, soon brought under the power of the Inquisition, condemned as a heretic, and ultimately burnt at Rome in 1600."—*History of the Physical and Natural Sciences*, p. 159.

Now, either Mr. Powell believed what he here writes, or he did not. If he did, he is a very incompetent historian, and if he did not, he is a very dishonest one. He ought to have read Montucla, who would have instructed him; and if he did not read Montucla, he was very presumptuous in offering himself as the historian of the sciences. Let Cambridge, however, correct Oxford. "The heresies," says Mr. Whewell, "which led to his unhappy fate, were *not*, however, his astronomical opinions, but a work which he published in England and dedicated to Sir Philip Sydney, under the title of *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*, and which is understood to contain a bitter satire of the Catholic religion and the Papal government. Montucla conceives that, by his rashness in visiting Italy after putting forth such a work, he compelled the government to act against him." So far Mr. Whewell, *History*, vol. i. p. 384. We have something to add. It so happens, that this idol of the Oxonian professor's worship, was about as vile a compound as ever graced the annals of criminal justice. He was not only a traitor to his prince, and a rebel against the authority to which, as a priest, he vowed at the altar reverence and obedience;—he was a renegade from every sect that admitted him into its bosom,—a violator of the peace of every civil community that gave him shelter. He sinned equally against God and man, not only denying transubstantiation, which may be a merit, and the virginity of the mother of God, which may be a *peccadillo*, with the Oxford professor; but so notoriously impious, that in Wirtemberg, it has been asserted and believed, that he pronounced the panegyric of the devil. There, he himself tells us, he earned the public execration, though there he turned Lutheran, after having been a Calvinist in Geneva.

In this last-mentioned capital of dissent and loose belief, even the followers of John Calvin could not tolerate him, despite his merit as an apostate. In Paris he contrived to get himself so hated, that he was obliged to fly that city in like manner. Wherever he went he was found vomiting forth the foulest effusions of splenetic malice against the venerable head of his nation, and the ancient Church he abandoned, calling the sovereign Pontiff by the style and title of the "Roman Wolf," from whose furious and rabid voracity he had narrowly escaped. It was by indecencies like these he dishonoured the obsequies of the Duke of Brunswick, whose funeral-oration he was invited to pronounce in 1589. The good people of Helmstadt refused to suffer the miscreant's stay so long as would be requisite for him to superintend the printing of the last page of his work, *De Triplici Minimo*. But Rome, it seems, had the daring to vindicate its insulted majesty, and to avenge the crimes of this universal outcast; and immediately all the delinquencies of the culprit disappear, and his memory is embalmed in the veneration of the Oxford professor. No doubt the public may shortly expect, as a pendant to the "*reception of the new discoveries by the Church*," the edifying life and martyrdom of Giordano Bruno—the last accession to Mr. Powell's calendar of saints, with edifying extracts from the *Candelaio*, in refutation of Scipio Maffei's impious denunciation of that work as "*infamous and wicked*."* Another saint and bright philosopher of Mr. Powell's, is the double renegade, Antonio de Dominis. He actually—would you believe it, reader?—calls in the recreancy of the man in matters of faith, to eke out his merits as a philosopher. These have been very justly denied by more than one distinguished writer: But he, too, incurred the displeasure of the ancient Church, and that is

* Mr. Drinkwater, too, has a paragraph (p. 8) on Bruno. It is difficult to speak of it as it deserves, and yet keep within those bounds which it is always painful to be obliged to overstep. In the description given above—strong as it may appear—of that bad man Bruno's conduct and doctrines, it has not been even attempted to convey any thing like an adequate idea of the revolting reality. Indeed, we could not think of polluting our pages with the wretch's horrid blasphemies—blasphemies so impious as to appear to have shocked even the impious Toland. Let the reader who would know more about them, consult Bayle and Chauffepied; and while he remembers that these writers are not remarkable for friendliness to Rome, we leave it to him to give, if he can, its proper name to that which could so far lead astray the mind and heart of a biographer of Galileo, as to make him step aside from his subject, in order to dig up so foul a memory from the heap of infamy under which it lay festering for centuries, and bespeaking for the vile object the sympathy of his simple readers, by arraying him in the attributes of an injured man, try to fling all the odium that hitherto attached to the culprit on the judges who condemned him; and condemned him, too, in accordance with the verdict long pronounced by indignant Europe, with an unanimity which, amid the jars and dissensions of that discordant period, is not its least striking circumstance.

sufficient not only to cancel, in our historian's eyes, the abandonment of two religions, but to erect him into an inductive genius of the truest stamp. Our readers will hardly, after this, expect us to bestow any farther attention on Mr. Powell.*

There is no need to travel out of the personal history of Galileo himself for evidence to shew that this disposition in reference to science, of which we have seen such pleasing manifestations, had continued to subsist to his own time; since he has left the record of his sense of its influence in his own case in terms too energetic to be readily forgotten. No sooner had he directed the telescope to the heavens, and made those discoveries that have been the memorable consequence, than he determined to repair to Rome, as to the spot, of all Europe, where, with the best prospect of advantage to science, he could first make known those startling revelations which it now became his exalted privilege to proclaim to the astonishment of mankind. So fully impressed does he seem to have been with the value and importance of this step, that not all the remonstrances of the court in whose service he had been about to engage, could induce him to so much as postpone his visit, observing, somewhat sharply, in his reply to the representations of Secretary Vinta, "that, if he, as professor of astronomy, shewed himself rather anxious about going to Rome, he ought, in consideration of the truths he shall there have to announce, and their bearing on astronomy, by the changes and additions they will necessitate, not only to be excused, but seconded, in (thus) making palpable and plain the things that, by God's help, he had discovered." The result justified these cheering anticipations. His reception was as though one of his own starry wonders had dropt from the sky. Gardens and palaces are flung open for his use, and prelates and cardinals are his admiring attendants. Even Bellarmine, who had recently reaped the highest honours in another and a remote field of intellectual labour, and who, with his Jesuits, has been accused of having directed the censures of the Church against the Florentine professor, partook of the general interest, and wrote to the Astronomical School of his own order in the Roman College, to ascertain if the facts were as alleged;—he is answered that they are, and that there is no questioning them. Nor was this answer given without a full knowledge of the consequences to science

* This gentleman's classical attainments seem to be on a par with his historical: See his translation of Pliny's *Encomium on Hipparchus*, as one "*ausus rem etiam Deo inprobam, annumerare posteris stellas,*" thus *turned out of Latin* by Mr. P.:—"who ventured to do a thing *wrong in the sight of the Deity!*" &c.—*Powell*, p. 58. Oh! "*Columns, Gods, and Men!*" who ever before heard of praising a man for doing a thing wrong in the sight of the Deity?

which it involved; for we soon after find the most venerable of these reverend respondents—the celebrated Padre Clavius—in repeating, on another occasion, the same assurance, adding these remarkable words: “which things being so, let astronomers now look to it, and see how the heavenly orbs are to be constituted, so as to save these phenomena.”*

Far different was the reception that awaited him in his own native Tuscany. There had he scarcely arrived, when an intimation followed him from Rome, warning him of the machinations of some of his own townsmen, and, more painful still, some of his own pupils. Machinations which are said, we know not with what truth, to have given rise to those indecent exhibitions of intemperate zeal, in which more than one Tuscan ecclesiastic of the time indulged from the pulpit, against the sacrilege of sending this world spinning in wide space round the sun. Conduct like this, ill-calculated as it was to conciliate respect in any quarter, certainly found no sympathy in Rome. On the contrary, every one has heard of the severity which it drew down from the general of the Dominicans on one of his subordinates—the friar Caccini—and the universality with which his sentiments were shared, is thus attested by Castelli. “I have not spoken,” says that eminent ecclesiastic and philosopher, writing from Rome, “to one who does not deem it great impertinence in preachers to mount their pulpits to treat of such high professor-like matters (*matterie di cattedra, e tanto elevate*) before women and a people, where there are so few to understand them.”

Still Galileo shewed himself foremost to raise and debate the mischievous and uncalled-for question of the reconciliability of the Scripture-texts with the new theory; for, so early as 1612, emboldened, it is probable, by the very flattering reception he had lately received in Rome, he directed a letter, the reply to which we shall give in its appropriate place, to one of the highest functionaries there, by way of inquiry on the subject. To this course, which he clung to throughout with desperate tenacity, he seems to have been determined by the double persuasion, now recognized to have been absolutely false, that the system *was demonstrated*, and that to *him* belonged the honour of having furnished the demonstration from the flux and reflux of the tides. On this double assumption it may not be amiss, before we proceed farther, to make one or two passing observations. “*Car nous ne devons pas,*” says Bailly, “*juger de cette faute par les lumières de notre siècle.*” “Researches then” (we quote the

* Commentary on the Sphere of Sacrobosco, as cited by Scheiner in his *Disqui. Mathematica*.

words of Delambre reviewing his own labours) "prosecuted with the most scrupulous exactness, have failed to bring to light any other astronomy but that of the Greeks. The only things to be met with, from the most remote antiquity to the epoch of Copernicus, are the ideas of Hipparchus and Ptolemy. Arabians, Persians, Tartars, Indians, Chinese, Europeans,—it is all one. Every where, and at all times,—the earth motionless in the centre of the planetary movements. All appearances were sufficiently accounted for. All observed phenomena were calculated in this system by the aid of certain hypotheses, without any prominent error in the results occurring to inspire the slightest mistrust in the correctness of the fundamental idea." To this universal acquiescence in the immobility of the earth, even the Pythagorean doctrine, this writer observes, formed no exception; not only because confined to the school in which it had its birth, but also because it owed its origin, not to any reasoned or consistent view, but to the spirit of disputation that prevailed in the ancient schools, and which infallibly caused that whatever opinion was held in any one, its opposite, for that sole reason, should be maintained in the next. Thus the Copernican idea, though broached in the ancient schools, was broached only to be rejected. So that, when taken up in modern times, it was, says this writer, "*a paradox*." And such, says Mr. Whewell, it appeared in the hands of Cardinal Cusa, though it was undoubted, that that illustrious writer was serious in proposing it. The idea, then, was new—unheard of; opposed to all preconceived notions on the subject; opposed to the senses; opposed to the obvious and literal meaning of the divine word, and to its popular interpretation;—in a word, paradoxical, and one for which, says Delambre, the author had to draw wholly on his own resources. "And *what solid reason*," M. Delambre goes on to ask, "could induce the ancients to disbelieve the evidences of their senses? *Yes, and even despite the immense progress which astronomy has subsequently made, have the moderns themselves been able to allege any one direct proof of the diurnal motion of the earth, previous to the voyage of Richer to Cayenne, where he was obliged to shorten his pendulum? Have they been able to discover one positive demonstration to the point, to prove the annual revolution of the earth, before Roemer measured the velocity of light, and Bradley had observed and calculated the phenomena of the aberration? Previous to these discoveries, and to that of universal gravitation (made many a long year after Galileo had ceased to breathe), were not the most decided Copernicans reduced to mere probabilities,—were they not obliged to confine themselves to preaching up the simplicity of the Copernican*

system, as compared with the absurd complexity of that of Ptolemy?"* So far then for the first assumption of Galileo, that the system was demonstrated.†

Next, as to the grounds of his confidence in the new views; most modern writers assume, that it was inspired by the light which the first telescopic glimpse of the heavens let in on our system, particularly by the discoveries of the phases of Venus, and the satellites of Jupiter; now, nothing can be more mistaken.

Already, in the year 1597, THIRTEEN years before the discovery of the planetary phenomena revealed by the telescope, Galileo, in two letters, one of them to Kepler, declares his *long settled conviction* of this, his favourite doctrine. Writing at the end of his life, to his disciple Renieri,—he avows he was led to this opinion by the facility which he conceived it afforded him of explaining the mystery of the flux and reflux of the tides. This, to him, was the crowning proof, beyond which evidence could not go; beside it, the phases of Venus, and all the other wonders of 1610, were as nothing. When in 1616, he stood before the Inquisition, he alleged this grand demonstration in a letter to Cardinal Orsini;—subsequently, he transmits it to the Archduke Leopold, a tribute, in his mind, worthy a prince;—in 1623, he puts it forward once more in his letter to Ingolfi, in the same confident style; and devotes in his celebrated "*Dialoghi*," the whole of the fourth or last day's dialogue to the developement of this argument, that it may crown the climax of conviction, and concludes by scoffing at the simplicity of Kepler, particularly when after his, (Galileo's) satisfactory explanation of the phenomena,—he lends his ear and assent to such occult properties as the moon's influence on the tides "and other like puerilities." Lastly, when questioned before the Inquisition in 1633, he confesses, that this argument in particular "ENTERS with an extraordinary force and vigour into men's ears." No wonder that, as Bailli says, "*la foule d'astronomes était contre !*" Having thus persuaded himself that he had demonstrated the earth's motion, his next step was to prepare vigorously to remove the only

* Astron. Mod. Discours Prel.

† Nothing can be more disgusting than the flippancy with which half-informed writers (and they are always the most dogmatic) set, with the aid of a few verses from Milton, this assumed simplicity in boastful contrast with the cycles and epicycles of the Ptolemaic astronomy: as though this simplicity were not at best a very fallacious test of truth; or the Copernican system, as it came from the hands of its author, were not encumbered with a large share of the epicyclical machinery,—from which it was relieved, not by Galileo, who did nothing for the system in a mathematical point of view, but by the truly great and important discoveries of Kepler; or as though the Hipparchian method were not found of singular utility even by Newton,—or its principle did not constitute one of the most important and, for astronomy, most indispensable branches of modern science.

remaining impediment as he conceived in the way of its universal adoption, namely, the scriptural difficulties; and, for this purpose, addressed so early as 1612, the letter to Cardinal Conti, to which we have before alluded, by way of enquiry on this subject. The cardinal's reply bears date July 12, and proves to us at least, that the new theory was not then considered "heresy" at Rome. After stating that the texts which assert that *the earth stands*, would admit of being so construed as to mean merely its stability or permanence, the cardinal proceeds,—“but when it is said that the sun goes round, and the heavens move, the only interpretation that can be proposed (by the advocates of the new views) is, that they speak after the common manner of the people, which mode of explaining cannot be admitted without great necessity; nevertheless, *Diego à Stunica** says, the earth's motion is more in conformity with the Scripture; his interpretation, however, is not followed.”

In pursuance of his unwise purpose of raising the question, as to the value of Scriptural objections against his system, Galileo seizes the opportunity afforded by a letter from Castelli, wherein is reported a conversation on the subject held at the table of the Grand Duchess of Pisa, to enter on that series of theological epistles which formed the sole ground of the impeachment against him which followed in 1615.

Lorini, a Dominican of Tuscany, and associate of Caccini, contrived by some means to get hold of a copy of the first of these letters—the one to Castelli; and armed with the document, proceeded to Rome to lay his complaint before the Holy Office. The Inquisition, however, demanded *in limine* the production of the original;—it was not forthcoming—proceedings were stayed, and the purpose of the denunciator was defeated. The correspondence of the leading characters on the occasion, which has come down to us, and which we now proceed to lay before our readers, reveals the whole temper of the tribunal in question, and the light in which they were disposed to look at the affair.

The denunciation took place towards the close of February 1615: near a year before that, we have a letter from Monsignor

* “C'est un Théologien Espagnol,” says the learned Simon, speaking of Stunica in one of his letters, “d'un grand mérite, et qui parle de la sorte dans un pays d'Inquisition, et dans un ouvrage applaudi avec éloge.”

As a farther proof that there was no idea at the time of looking at the new doctrines as heretical, we will add, that when in 1613, Galileo's friend and favourite pupil Castelli was receiving his instructions on being appointed to the mathematical chair at Pisa, the Provost (Provost) of that university, Monsignor Reverendissimo Arturo d'Elei, in 1613, he was expressly allowed to take every opportunity of teaching his opinion as *probable*, provided only he did not put it forward from his chair as the *declared* opinion of the school.—Surely we need not ask how probable if heretical? or how give permission to instil a heresy into the minds of a rising generation?

Dini, the Bishop of Fermo, to Galileo, stating, that Cardinal Barbarini, afterwards Pope Urban VIII, under whom Galileo was finally condemned, told him, "how he (Galileo) should comport himself—to speak with circumspection, and as a mathematician," and that he, the cardinal, "*never heard a word, either in his own or in Bellarmine's congregation, of quei interessi of Galileo's, although, in either, the first mention of such things is made.*"

Immediately after the denunciation, viz. on the last day of February 1615, Ciampoli, the friend of the accused, and subsequently secretary to Pope Urban VIII, writes to say, that Barberini repeated to him the same sentiments, to wit, that "Galileo should not travel out of the limits of physics and mathematics, but confine himself to such reasonings as Ptolemy and Copernicus used, because—declaring the views of Scripture—the theologians maintain to be their particular province."

On the 21st of the next month (March) while the proceedings against Galileo were at their height, the same writer again addressed his friend:—"I have been this morning together with Monsignor Dini to the Cardinal Del Monte, who told us he had lately had a long conversation with *Cardinal Bellarmine on the subject of the new opinions, and that the conclusion was, that by confining himself to the system AND ITS DEMONSTRATION*, without interfering with the Scriptures, the interpretation of which they wish to have confined to theological professors, approved and authorized for the purpose, Galileo would be secure against any contradiction, but that otherwise explications of Scripture, however ingenious, will be admitted with difficulty when they depart from the common opinion of the fathers."* On the 15th of next month (April 1615) Bishop Dini, in a letter to his friend, testifies to "Bellarmine's having *remarked* to him (Dini) that there was no question about Galileo, (the case had been by this time dismissed), and that by pursuing the course mentioned, that of speaking as a mathematician, he would be put to no trouble."†

Thus terminated in a few weeks the first judicial enquiry into the doctrine of Galileo, which Mr. Drinkwater and others seem to confound with the second, which took place in 1616, at Galileo's own instance, and with which, as we learn from his, (Galileo's) own correspondence, Lorini had nothing to do. The denunciation then by this friar was a failure;—the original letter on which it was grounded, and without which the Inquisition refused to proceed, having been suppressed by Castelli; yet Cas-

* Lib. Nelli. quoted by Venturi.

† Ibid.

telli was never so much as reprimanded for the suppression, but remained in as great favour at Rome as ever; neither was he, or others who saw the original, examined as to whether the copy put in by the accuser was authentic. Had that obvious course been pursued, he dared not have withheld the truth,—but there was no disposition to urge matters to this length. The accused was not so much as cited, or otherwise in the least molested, and the whole affair was dismissed in a very few weeks. Certainly as yet, there is no evidence of a disposition on the part of Rome to quarrel with science, the only quarrel being that of Galileo with the theology of some of his countrymen. So little indeed do the authorities at Rome appear to have wished for any angry collision with the new doctrines, that at the very moment when they are accused of trying to crush these doctrines by the means of the Inquisition, that is to say, on the 7th of March 1615, Prince Cesi writes to his friend in Florence to tell him, that the preceptor of Popes, the talented Jesuit Torquato de Cuppis is delivering lectures in the Roman College (Bellarmine's own,) in support of the same Copernican doctrine,—while in the Pope's own University (Sapienza,) another Jesuit, as Nelli testifies, is delivering similar lectures; and yet Bellarmine and the Jesuits have been accused of the most bigotted hostility to the Copernican system of Astronomy. We may here observe, that Padre Grassi,* the Jesuit who wrote the "*Astronomical Balance*," and who is charged with having, out of pique, urged on the measures of hostility against Galileo in 1633, explains, in 1624, some time after Bellarmine's decease, what that Cardinal's views were. These are the words: "When a demonstration shall be found to establish the earth's motion, it will be proper to interpret the sacred Scriptures otherwise than they have hitherto been in these passages where mention is made of the stability of the earth, and movement of the heavens; and this *ex sententiâ Bellarmini*."† To resume; Monsignor Dini, a correspondent who seems to have enjoyed the privilege of the freest intercourse with the Cardinals, and who took the liveliest interest in every thing that concerned his friend Galileo, says in a letter of the same 7th of March 1615: "Bellarmine has not spoken, that I could hear, of the prohibition of Copernicus's works, but possibly there will be appended to that work a *postilla*, to say, that it was

* "Grassi himself was not averse to the Copernican notions."—Targioni, Scienze in Toscana, vol. i.

† Letters of Guiducci, 6th and 13th September, 1624, Venturi and Nelli. Bartoli, another contemporary of the Cardinal's, his brother in religion, and biographer, asserts that documents in the handwriting of Bellarmine remained in his possession, which showed that the Cardinal never questioned THE TRUTH of Galileo's doctrine, but only the prudence of his manner of propounding it; but those we have cited above are more than sufficient.

written to save the phenomena, *and farthermore that people must not run on blindly and condemn either of these opinions.*" What after all this shall we say to an attempt* on the part of Mr. Drinkwater, to disguise the plain but material fact of the dogmatical nature of the course pursued and disapproved of? That gentleman expressly undertakes to controvert a position taken by M. Bergier, "*that Galileo was persecuted,*" (we would say *prosecuted*—the persecution part of the story having been long since given up,) "*not for having been a good Astronomer, but a bad Theologian,*" and how does he go about it? why he gives a portion of a part of the letter, that did not form the groundwork of the prosecution against Galileo, the letter to Madame Christina. Yet even this, too, is one tissue of theology from beginning to end, and so described by its own author, as is its precursor, that to Castelli: in fact, we do not know one well-informed writer who has made this attempt before Mr. Drinkwater. Nelli, Montucla, Delambre,—and so late as our own time, Biot† speaks of the letter to Madame Christina, (the very one from which Mr. Drinkwater quotes, and which is in substance the same as that to Castelli,) as one "in which Galileo undertook to prove *theologically, and by reasons drawn from the Fathers, that the terms of Scripture might be reconciled with his new doctrines on the constitution of the universe.*"‡

It is then undeniable, that at the period we are now considering, the authorities at Rome had no wish to pass a sweeping censure on the doctrine in question, but only to restrain its assertion within bounds, recognized by philosophy itself, and prevent its supporters from wounding unnecessarily the religious prejudices of those who, in the absence of demonstration, refused it their assent. In one word "*men must not run on blindly, and condemn either of these opinions.*" On this principle the Inquisition acted; allowing the system to take its stand among its rivals, that is, they set it down for all it was worth—a plausible, but as yet unproven opinion,—the truth or falsehood of which had still to appear.

The equitable and temperate decision thus come to, appears to have given general satisfaction to the advocates of the new opinions: Padre Griembergero's associate mathematician, and

* See "Life of Galileo," chap. xi.

† Biot's Life of Galileo, Biographie Universelle.

‡ Another assertion of Mr. Drinkwater, (Ibid.) is that "Galileo did not enter on this discussion till driven to it by a most indecent attack from the pulpit by a Dominican friar, (Caccini)." Even admitting this to be the fact, who does not see that the more than ample apology of the General Maraffi, struck from under the Tuscan's feet every ground of justification for entering on his improper course? but the slightest inspection of dates totally disproves the statement. The letter to Castelli was written before any attack.

brother Jesuit, in particular, congratulates Galileo, through Monsignor Dini, on the 25th April 1615, "*that his affairs are settled*, for that now there will be no difficulty in writing on the Copernican system, as mathematician and by way of hypothesis." Galileo, however, was not to be so easily pleased; he set his heart on having his adopted theory received as an unquestioned and unquestionable truth; nor could he rest easy till that object should be accomplished.

The whole history of his life is the illustration of this truth. Accordingly his first attempt is to get the new system declared by the Inquisition to be conformable with the Scriptures. This, and his dissatisfaction, are both revealed by the following letter, written three days after the preceding, by his indefatigable friend the Bishop of Fermo. "We may be quite sure," says the prelate, trying to quiet the philosopher, "that there is no question of the opinion, but among four or five not very friendly to you; and none of these have spoken to the Master of the Sacred Palace, but to a certain friend of his: all which is confirmed by the word of Grazia himself: and therefore it is perhaps as well *not to raise the question*, lest by assuming the attitude of defence, where no attack is made, you may excite the suspicion of something wrong; and such too is Cesi's opinion."*

Thus we see that the Florentine sage was bent on forcing this matter on again himself. In fact, he wrote, on the 23rd of the preceding month, an argumentative epistle to Dini, expressly that it might be submitted to the perusal "*of Bellarmine and the Jesuits, as being those who know most about such things.*"

"It appears to Prince Cesi," writes *his friend*, in reply to the perhaps repeated wish that this letter should be presented, "that I† should not present your letter to *THAT personage*, because he and many others in authority being decided Peripatetics (*pretti Peripatetici*),‡ it is doubted he might be irritated on a *point already gained*; which is, that you can write as a mathematician, and by way of hypothesis; as they will have it Copernicus did: and this, though not conceded by his followers, is *nevertheless sufficient that others should obtain the same result*; that

* Letter of the 28th April, in Venturi.

† From this it appears that Nelli has fallen into one of his many mistakes, when he says that Dini caused several copies of this letter of the 23rd of March to be taken, especially, among others, for Bellarmine (*Nelli, Vita*, vol. i. p. 400, *Losanna*, 1793).

‡ In thus designating Bellarmine as a *prezzo Peripatetico*, we do not know if Dini can be borne out. The Cardinal was the particular friend of Prince Cesi, the celebrated founder of the Lincean Academy, who, both by the erection of this association, and his own scientific labours, did so much to pull down the Peripatetic philosophy. When that prelate was no more, Cesi himself testified to his having had particular pleasure in his (Cesi's) breaking the solid spheres, with which the Aristotelians had for ages encumbered the heavens. Not very like a "*Prezzo Peripatetico*."

of being left at liberty, provided only, as has been said, people do not invade the sanctuary. (Purche non s'intrè in Sagrestia, come sie detto altre volte.)"*

This very significant hint, that his best friends could not follow him with their approbation in the intemperate and uncalled-for course he was now meditating, was unfortunately lost on the sage. He proceeds with the elaboration of the last and most formidable of his polemical epistles; and having completed it, and sent it to the court of Florence, thereby "stamping it," says a modern writer, "with the impress of royal authority," he proceeds, towards the end of the year, with this armoury of theological weapons in his head, to storm the citadel of orthodoxy, the papal Inquisition; otherwise, in his own words, to learn "what he should believe on the Copernican System," (letter to Renieri); and thus *uncited, and of his own free motion*, does he place himself—*personally* for the first time—his opinions for the second time—before the Inquisition, in opposition to the remonstrance of his friends: for it is idle in Mr. Drinkwater to try to lend plausibility to the prattle recorded in a gossiping letter of the day (it is to the letter of Querenghi we suppose him to allude, when he speaks of Galileo's cotemporary), to the effect that Galileo was *cited*, on this occasion, to appear before the Inquisition.

Was it, we would ask Mr. Drinkwater, according to the rules of sound criticism and equity, thus to entertain this charge, when he must have had before his eyes at the moment, the fullest disproof of any such citation, in the correspondence both of the philosopher himself and his patron the Grand Duke? The latter, in his recommendatory letter which he gave his mathematician for a Cardinal, (who must have been in the secret, if any there had been, and whom it would be therefore folly to try to deceive) asserts that Galileo is proceeding to Rome, "*of his own accord*" (spontaneamente).† While he himself, in a letter to his court, dated from Rome, says, "I every day perceive more and more, *how happy an inspiration and excellent a resolution was mine in determining to come hither, whence, I thank God, and the kindness of their Serene Highnesses, who have granted me the necessary permission, &c.*" In that letter, he alludes to the various and disgusting artifices to which his untiring enemies had recourse, in order to vilify and injure him in the estimation of the great world in the Eternal City; no longer by legal prosecution—in that they had failed—but by private malice and whisperings, which, however, his sole presence sufficed to defeat. We shall leave himself to declare his tri-

* Dini to Galileo, 2nd of May, 1615, in Venturi.

† Fabroni Lettere, vol. i.

umphs. "My affair has been brought to a close, so far as I am individually concerned: the result has been signified to me by all their eminences, the Cardinals, who manage these affairs in the most liberal and obliging manner (*liberalmente è affettuosamente*), with the assurance that they had felt, as it were with their own hands, no less my own candour and sincerity, than the diabolical malignity and iniquitous purposes of my persecutors. So that, so far as I am personally concerned, I might return home at any moment."* He did not so return. His characteristic ardour and impetuosity would not let him. He remains to try to sway the ulterior deliberations on the general merits of the question, and to procure a decision that his opinion is in accordance with the Scripture.† For this purpose, having requested and obtained from his court, letters to Cardinal Orsini, who seems to have particularly lent himself to the views of his philosophical friend, he girds his loins for the work, and puts forth that argument upon which, on all occasions, he so fondly relied—the everlasting flux and reflux of the tides. Whether he succeeded in producing, by this boasted argument, the same degree of conviction in the mind of the Cardinal, to whom he inscribed it, as swayed his own breast, does not appear. He, at all events, most unfortunately succeeded in imparting to him no small portion of his own heat and imprudence. It happened, that the consideration of Galileo's theory was not taken up so warmly as either he or his eminent friend could wish. The Cardinals appeared to them to wax cold upon the subject, and from time to time it was postponed to matters of weightier concern: at length, at a most inopportune moment, when the Pope and Cardinals were engaged in one of their largest congregations, in some deep and important discussion, Orsini, in the most abrupt manner ("*arreptâ potius quam captâ occasione*," says the historian who narrates the circumstance), interposes, to force on Galileo's question. Conduct so ill-advised, draws down the immediate reprimand of the Pontiff; still the Cardinal, nothing abashed, returns to the charge, and again interrupts the business in hand. Then, and not till then, did the Pope, under feelings of irritation, declare that *he will* send the whole affair before the Inquisition.‡ Bellarmine, on the moment, is summoned to an audience with the Pontiff, where he is detained in a long and animated conference, which results in the determina-

* Letter to Picchena, 16th February, 1616.

† Despatch of Guicciardini, 4th March, as quoted by Bergier and Bercestel.

‡ Il quale gli dissi che avrebbe rimesso il negozio a' Signori Cardinali del S. Offizio e jer l'altro, sento, fecero una congregazione sopra questo fatto per dichiarla tale (eronea e eretica); Guicciardini's Despatch, 4th March, 1616.

tion instantly to call together a congregation to condemn the proposition. However, even under all these disadvantages, good sense and moderation prevail; and the utter condemnation, said to have been at first contemplated, is, chiefly through the instrumentality of Cardinals Barberini and Cajetan, softened down into a declaration, "that it appeared to be contrary to the sacred Scripture." Such is the account left us by a contemporary, who assisted Galileo in his cause, and *who wrote this account in Rome for the philosopher at his own especial request*.*

Thus, it was not, as some Protestant writers would have us believe, pronounced heretical, but untenable in its absolute and unqualified form, until, as Bellarmine decided, a new demonstration should arise to prove its truth; then, as Grassi informs us (*supra*), according to that father, the Scripture interpretation should be altered.

Galileo himself, explaining the same thing *the day after* the decision, in a letter to Picchena, tells him that "the result has not been favourable to his enemies; the doctrine of Copernicus *not having been declared heretical*, but only as not consonant to the sacred Scriptures: whence, the sole prohibition is of those works in which that consonance is maintained."

With regard to the philosopher himself, they deemed it prudent to reduce him to a total silence on the subject. Yet even this step (of silencing him) they did not take but in the last resort, commissioning one of their number (Bellarmine) to intimate to him their decision, and try, by all the arts of friendly persuasion, to engage him to give up "agitating," as the ambassador terms it, the question; and if he had a mind to hold these opinions, to hold them in peace. It was only when this last expedient failed, the biographer in Fabbroni tells us, that Bellarmine called in the public notary and witnesses, to have him juridically bound to silence; and in doing so, dispensed with every circumstance that might tend unnecessarily to irritate his wounded pride. They did not place him at their bar; the witnesses were as few as possible; and the Cardinal furnished him with a certificate to the effect that they did not at all visit him with their displeasure, but left him in the enjoyment of his opinions—opinions then once more not deemed heretical. He was immediately admitted to a long and friendly audience with the Pontiff, and dismissed with every demonstration of favour

* "E così," are the words of Geo. Francesco Buonamici di Prato, the authority alluded to above, "si ridussè il decreto Pontificio à temperamento di ordinare che il sistema non si potesse difendere nè tenere, perche pareva che fosse contraria alla sacra scrittura."

and regard. Such is the plain, unvarnished statement of the facts of this (the second) inquiry by the Inquisition into the doctrine and conduct of Galileo: it was of *his own seeking*, against the advice not only of his declared friends, but of some of his judges; it arose out of the attempt, on the philosopher's part, to give the law in the interpretation of Scripture; was marked by heat and intemperance on his side, by kindness and good feeling on that of the court; it left him the enjoyment of his opinions, but reduced him, as "*an ecclesiastical precaution*," to use the words of Venturi, to an absolute silence in doing so: it warred not with the doctrine, for it left every other teacher to enforce the same views; nay, scarcely was the ink dry on the paper that recorded this decision, when the chair of astronomy in the Pope's own university of Bologna, vacant by the death of Magini, was offered to the immortal Kepler; that is, the instruction of the rising generation in heretical astronomy (bless the mark!), is sought to be placed by Rome itself in the hands of, after Galileo, the most active, and, before Galileo, and all others, the most efficient advocate of Copernicanism in his day: not only so, they did not even wait for Kepler to come amongst them to have it taught. We have seen how, in the year before, it was upheld both in the Sapienza and in the Roman College; and now a Theatine father is occupied in enforcing the truth of the same Copernican views.† Why, then, it may be asked, was Galileo, and why Galileo alone, silenced? The answer is ready—because of his extreme intemperance; which is fully evinced by his whole conduct in the affair, and is still farther attested by the ambassador of his Prince, resident on the spot, and who dared not have misrepresented him to a court which idolized him. We shall give the extract from that minister's dispatch: it is dated the 4th of March,—the day before the sentence was pronounced,—and expresses, with great earnestness, the heat of the sage, proof against every expedient to the last.

"Galileo makes more account of his own opinion than that of his friends: and the Lord Cardinal del Monte, and I, so far as lay in my power, *together with many Cardinals of the Holy Office*, have tried to persuade him to keep himself quiet, and not to agitate (*stuzzicare*) this affair, but, if he had a mind to hold this opinion, to hold it in peace [hold a heresy in peace! this from Inquisitors!], and not to make such efforts to draw over others to his way of thinking.... He is heated in his opinions, and displays an extreme of passion, with but little prudence or strength of mind to know how to govern it. He is heated. He is passionate in this affair, and altogether blinded as to how he should act; and will remain so, as he has hitherto done, bringing himself, and every

† Nelli, Vita.

one else who will be fool enough to second his views, or be persuaded by him, into danger.... He is vehement, obstinate, and passionate, so that it is impossible that any one around him can get out of his hands."*

Is it any wonder that, after all this, they should try to tie up these hands by enjoining him to an "opportune silence," as they called it? He, however, violated this injunction, referring to it, after a lapse of seventeen years, in a most contemptuous and sarcastic style; for that he was indeed arraigned, and finally condemned in 1633; but still treated to the last with every indulgence and consideration for his infirmities and high philosophic character.

It is astonishing how completely this opportune silence was followed by peace in the scientifico-religious world. Galileo, in consequence of the repeated and urgent representations of the Tuscan ambassador at Rome, is gently remanded by his court to Florence, with the aid of an occasional letter, serving as a sort of safety-valve to his restless and dissatisfied spirit. The astronomer returns to his previous calm. He is still admired—still courted as ever: Cardinal Barberini composes verses in his honour, and mounts the papal throne. From that moment Copernicanism is once more in the ascendant. It is enough that any one should be the friend of Galileo, or a partaker in his opinions,—he is immediately placed round the pontifical person, in some post of honour and profit. Castelli is called from Pisa to be mathematician to his Holiness; Cesarini, in whose house Galileo found a home when before the Inquisition in 1616, and who sang the motion of the earth, and the praises of its hero, is made Grand Chamberlain, and would have been honoured with a cardinal's hat, but for his too early demise (in 1624). Ricardi is made master of the Sacred Palace; Ciampole is made secretary; Campanella, the hot and intemperate, is rescued from the grasp of his Neapolitan jailers, and attached to the papal household; the founder of the French oratory, the celebrated Bérulle, is raised to the dignity of Cardinal, though an avowed Copernican. In fine, Galileo himself comes to Rome, not in consequence of a citation, as Mr. Drinkwater, true to himself, yearns to make us suspect,† but in compliance with the advice of his illustrious friend, Prince Cesi, to offer his congratulations to his brother

* Fabbroni. Even after having been silenced, he could not keep from wrangling and embroiling himself and others in worse than useless arguments on this subject. Hear Guicciardini, in a despatch written two months after:—"Egli (Galileo) è d'un umore sì da scapönire i frati; e combattere con chi egli non può se non perdere, però un poco prima, or poi, sentiranno costà che sarà cascato in qualche stravagante precipizio."

† Life of Galileo, c. xii.

academician, Barberini, on his recent elevation to the chair of St. Peter. He is loaded with honours. The substantial proofs of papal partiality and esteem with which he returns to his own country, are recorded in almost every history of the time, and it is unnecessary for us to enumerate them. Suffice it to say they met him in every shape—the cordial interview—the commendatory letter—the pension for himself and his son, came unsolicited, to attest how high the philosopher stood in the papal favour. Not only during the visit is he before the Pontiff's mind. The friends of Galileo in their correspondence testify to the kindness and frequency of Urban's recollections. He is beforehand with his officers in remembering the remittances to be made, and orders them to be increased. Does an unkind word drop from some bigotted friar?—He is immediately reprimanded with the assurance that the Pope and Cardinals have no dearer friend than Galileo.* What more favourable conjuncture for the flux and reflux proof of Copernicanism? The papal pulse is accordingly felt. Those now at the head of affairs are sounded. From one end to the other of the court it is proclaimed that the geocentric doctrine is *not* a matter of faith—that its opposite is *not* heresy. Urban repeatedly expresses himself to the same effect.† All is now bright with promise, and after much manœuvring and characteristic finesse, Galileo surprises his devoted friends, the Maestro di S. Palazzo, and Ciampole, into an approbation of a work which he permitted them but partially to examine. Thus, by conduct such as no one can admire, he succeeds; and, to the wonder of all, comes out with the famous *Four Days' Dialogues*, in which he gives all the preponderance of argument to the opinion of his choice—treating the opposite, and its advocates, with ridicule and contempt. The very first page, addressed *To the Discreet Reader*, most indiscreetly reveals and points the transparent satire against the decree of 1616, *by name*, in a vein of the most bitter irony and sarcasm. It was a daring attempt; and the air of defiance, with which it was paraded, made it scarcely

* When, in 1630, *un certo frate* spoke somewhat insolently of Galileo in the presence of Barberini, he was instantly reprimanded by his Eminence, who observed that the philosopher had no greater friends than his Holiness and himself. This friar may have been Caccini, who is known to have vented his splenetic disappointment about this time, in the bitter remark that, "Galileo's proper place, were he not so protected by the Court of Rome, would be a dungeon."

† In March 1630, the Pope, in a conversation with Campanella, uses these words: "It never was our intention to condemn the Copernican system, and if it depended on us, the decree of 1616 would never have been made." (Castelli to Galileo, who fortifies the relation with the authority of Prince Cesi.) In the year following, speaking with Cardinal Zoller, he emphatically rejects the idea that the new opinion is heretical: adding "it is only rash; and there is no fear that any one will undertake to prove that it must necessarily be true." He might have added, there was still less fear of his succeeding *at the time*.

possible that any tribunal pretending to public respect, should tamely submit to be thus ostentatiously trampled on. The writer has the farther imprudence to put in the mouth of Simplicius, to whom is allotted the task of sustaining the old opinion, the arguments which the reigning pontiff had previously urged against the doctrine of the earth's motion, with the express notification that he heard them from *a most learned and elevated personage* ("gia appreso da dottissima e eminentissima persona.") Gratitude should have taught him to spare this pointed allusion to the first personage in the realm, who was, also, his own most generous benefactor. However, the shaft was sped, and sorely did it rankle in the Pontifical breast. It is said there were not wanting those behind the scenes, who, instigated by secret envy, fanned the flame that was thus lit up. Wounded pride, it is at all events certain, was the passion that urged on the steps that were afterwards taken to vindicate, as was asserted, the violated order of 1616. This was the ostensible ground of complaint. Certainly hostility to science in general, or to the peculiar doctrine of the earth's motion in particular, was not among the motives, real or avowed, that brought down the severity with which the delinquent was at last visited. All the springs of action are laid open in the correspondence of the day. In the important despatches of Nicolini, the resident ambassador of Florence at Rome, we have evidence on the one hand of the Pope's taking up the cause, "*come propria*," and on the other, "that the great difficulty consisted in its being maintained by the cardinals of the congregation, that in the year 1616 a command was laid upon him (Galileo) that he should not dispute nor argue (*discorresse*) on this point. Every thing else seems to be of minor consideration, and more easily got rid of."

The same point is restated in a second letter of the same date, as well as in those of the 23rd of May, 1633; the 18th of June, 1633; the 26th of June, 1633; the 3rd of July of the same year; and the 11th of September of the year previous,—all of which may be consulted in Venturi;—and it is still farther confirmed, if confirmation were necessary, by the authority of Geo. Francesco Buonamici, who expressly testifies, that the Inquisition "solely examined him upon the license and approbation of the book." They demanded of him, why he had not informed the master of the Sacred Palace of the injunction of 1616. He replied, that he thought it was useless. "There," says Venturi, "in rigorous justice, was his fault."

Campanella, altogether in the interest of Galileo, even to violence, with the best opportunities, too, of becoming acquainted with the truth, tells us in the like manner, that the infringement

of the injunction of 1616, was the cause of the proceedings in 1633. See his letter to Galileo, 22nd October, 1632.

Were even this express evidence of the true springs of motion in this unpleasant affair lost to us, it would still be clear, that to whatever cause the prosecution of Galileo might have been owing, it could not be attributable to any unworthy dislike of scientific pursuits generally, nor to the conclusion in question—that of the earth's motion in particular. The character of the times and of the actors of the scene, clearly forbids the supposition. We have before seen, that Urban and his court were rather friendly than otherwise to the doctrine, and regarded it, in a theological point of view, as perfectly harmless. Its most zealous advocates were in favour and in place round his own person. Next, the Jesuits are accused as having urged on the authorities behind the scenes, to exercise the severity they displayed against the poor delinquent. We do not consider it necessary to enquire into the justice of the charge. So far as it is meant generally to affect the society as a body, we deem it unquestionably unjust. Galileo counted many friends in the order, such as Griembergero, Guldino, Tanner, and others. Venturi * tells us, the superiors of that order tried to put a stop to the controversy between himself and Grassi. Monsignor Dini particularizes the Jesuits as the Tuscan's friends, and praises them as counting them the greatest men in their body. Galileo himself has rendered the most ample and unequivocal testimony to the superiority of that religious order, and his own obligations to it. Writing to Prince Cesi, on the 29th of December, 1611,† he thus speaks of Terenzio, a Lyncean, who had then lately joined the Jesuits:—"The news has pained me, by reason of the great loss our society will sustain; but, on the other hand, has given me pleasure, both for the nature itself of the holy resolution, and that a company, to which I am much indebted, has obtained such an acquisition." At the same time, it appears to have been held by the best informed at the period, that many among that celebrated body, were disaffected towards the sage, and were influencing the Holy Father in a spirit that boded no good to the philosopher's peace: but yet, far from their hostility having been owing to any dislike of either science or the new system of the world, it is expressly attributed to their envy and desire to appropriate to themselves the glory of his discoveries. The Heliocentric doctrine was taught in their schools, and still more generally held than taught. Scheiner, for instance, is said to have held it privately, although he did not avow it openly,—

* Parte 2ade, p. 58.

† Giornale Letterario di Roma, 1749.

perhaps, simply, because it was espoused by Galileo; and in the correspondence of the day, it is expressly affirmed to have been the *favourite* doctrine among the sons of Loyola. The state of feeling, too, in Rome, towards science, was, at the time, most liberal and enlightened,—and far, very far, indeed, in advance of that of those countries, whose principal writers, down even to our own days, have taken particular pleasure in decrying the character of Italy in this respect. Already could she boast of her Leonardo da Vincis—her Fracastoris—her Cesalpinis. Her academies were the result, as they are the proof, of her vigorous and generous love of science; that of the Lyncei* at Rome, would alone do honour to any age and country. Its foundation preceded by half a century that of the Royal Society of London, and of the French Academy of Paris; and was the model, according to Salisbury, on which they were founded. The odour it has left behind it, is shown to be grateful to Romans as well by Odescalchi's work in illustration of its history, got out in the present century in that city, as by the formation, in the last century, of a society in which its honoured name is revived, and which still flourishes under the presidency of Professor Scarpellini.

The noble founder, Prince Federico Cesi, a name beyond all praise, and to whose memory posterity will yet do justice, was less ardent, if possible, as a lover of science than of religion; yet he collected around him a band of generous students of nature, who gained for themselves so much distinction among their contemporaries, by boldly rejecting the ravings of the Scholastics, that cardinals were ambitious of the honour of being enrolled in their body, and Galileo wished to boast of no higher title than that of *Lyncean*. We have spoken of Cesi's demolition of the solid spheres of Ptolemy; hear how a modern writer speaks of another of his works. "Ces tables (*Phytosophicæ*) distribuées par accolades, suivant la méthode du temps, offrent de la manière la plus concise et la plus exacte la philosophie botanique telle que l'a conçue, *un siècle après*, le célèbre Linnée, et en rapprochant quelques passages des deux auteurs, *on serait tenté de croire que le naturaliste Suédois les aurait étudiés*, quoique ni lui, ni aucun botaniste jusqu'à Haller, n'ait cité cet ouvrage curieux." No wonder then that a kindred spirit, Dr. Thomas Brown, has immortalized his admiration of the noble naturalist, by gifting the Flora of another world with the name of the illustrious Cesi. To name a few of his associates, is all that is permitted us in the brief observations that remain; but their names are their eulo-

* See Dublin Review, No. V, on *Early Italian Scientific Academies*.

gies,—they are J. Baptista Porta, so well known in optics and pneumatics,—Giovanni Fabri, the anticipator of Redi and Malpighi, in discarding some of the most prevalent errors of his day,—Stelluti, not unprized by geologists;* and Fabio Colonna, a host in himself.

Close upon the demise of Cesi and his Academy, arose another vigorous off-shoot of the scientific intellect of the day, in the Physico-Mathematical Academy of Rome, erected by Ciampini, at the instigation of Cardinal Michael Angelo Ricci. The associates of Ciampini in his scientific labours were Alphonso Borelli, Toricelli, Bianchini, (who constructed the Meridian in the Church of St. Mary of Angels at Rome, and who was pronounced by Newton to be one of the first astronomers of the day, while he was its very first antiquarian) Montanari, and Paul Bocconi; names which shed a lustre round the Physico-Mathematical Society. Nor should we forget that Pope Clement IX was, when Monsignor Rospigliosi, most anxious to see some such Academy erected. This Pontiff was in early youth the auditor of the Jesuit supporter of Copernicanism before mentioned, Torquato de Cuppis, and only withdrew from that learned Professor's lectures to attend those of another still more decided partizan of Galileo's, Benedict Castelli, at Pisa, where he himself became Extraordinary Professor of Philosophy. He was in office under Urban at the time Galileo incurred his master's displeasure; and according to Monsignor Testa, exerted himself to the utmost of his power to defend the accused party; as he did more effectually on a subsequent occasion, the celebrated author of the "*Almagestum Novum*," against the "tracasseries" of an Inquisition,—yet this is the Pontiff whose selection of Leopold de' Medici for the dignity of Cardinal, has been so stupidly transformed into the groundwork of an accusation against Papal Rome, for its assumed hostility to science. The elevation of Michael Angelo Ricci to the same dignity (of Cardinal,) was another tribute from the Court of Rome to science. We have noticed his share in the creation of Ciampini's Academy. He was so distinguished a proficient in mathematics and physics, that to no other would Alphonso Borelli, that proud but eminent man of science, condescend to submit his dispute with Stephano de' Angelis, and Manfredi, on the theory of his work *De Vi Percussionis*; and it was the same great ornament of the Roman Church, whom the celebrated Academy del Cimento, selected to revise the first volume of its transactions before it would let them appear. Even ecclesiastics who had earned for

* See the 1st volume of Mr. Lyell's admirable work—"Principles of Geology."

themselves an imperishable name in other departments of learning, were found to take the liveliest interest in the study of nature. Witness the celebrated Mabillon, who attended the sittings of the Roman Academy just now mentioned; and the no less celebrated Cardinal Norris, (the descendant, it is said, of an Irish family,) who composed a letter, styled "*beautiful*," on the coral insect, and inserted in the Roman Ephemerides, 1678.—Nothing but the length to which this paper has already extended, would prevent us from proceeding, and showing that neither Italy in general, nor Rome in particular, merits those slights which even Mr. Whewell, whom we would always mention with respect, has joined in putting on both.† Before, however, we proceed to bestow on Mr. Whewell's remarks, that notice to which every thing proceeding from his pen is so justly entitled, it is advisable to take a retrospect of the ground over which we have travelled, and erect some land-mark of truth to fix and attest our progress.

Of the evidence, then, which we have adduced—and in stating it we have held back no one circumstance of the slightest importance—the following appears to us to be the legitimate summary: that the distinguished individual with whose story we have been all this while occupied, was never condemned—never indeed, so much as arraigned—but once; and then not for his science, or his religion, or any other mere matter of opinion whatsoever, but for the *moral* fault of having in a most flagrant manner transgressed a solemn injunction placed on him by the highest tribunal in the land; a tribunal to which he had himself appealed,—whose decision he loudly and pertinaciously demanded, and at last succeeded in extorting. For the transgression of an injunction like this, aggravated, too, by circumstances of insult and contumely against the authority that awarded it, was he condemned for the first and last time, towards the close of his life, 1633; in one word for a grievous contempt of court.

Already had his long and active life, spent in the unwearied prosecution of science, been allowed to draw to its close, without entailing on him, for this hateful exercise of his powers, from Rome and its dignitaries, any severer visitation than what may be summed up under the head of honours, pensions, and caresses, and every other demonstration which the liveliest admiration of talents transcendent as his own, could inspire; and this—while, as if to impart to it the relief of contrast, he was experiencing

† The Marquis de Condorcet, in this matter an unsuspected witness, thus expresses himself on occasion of presenting the bust of the great Cassini to the Academy of Sciences: "Il savoit qu'en Italie ce n'est pas une exclusion pour les places importantes que d'avoir perfectionné la raison par l'étude des sciences; que souvent même elles ont été un moyen de s'élever à ces places."—Cassini's Mémoires, 8vo. Paris 1810.

from the countries around, and especially his own (Florence), more or less of petty persecution, and vexatious annoyance. He had taught, published, proclaimed—extended the boundaries of human knowledge to the utmost regions of unexplored space; in fine, pulled down with one hand, the venerable fabric of philosophy that had stood for ages; and with the other, erected on its yet smoking ruins a substitute of a new and altogether different construction. All this he did, not only under the eyes, but cheered by the countenance and applause of Rome: till in an evil hour, as if intoxicated by the universal sway he held in the world of science, and the series of victories he achieved over every successive adversary, as they arose, he burst, in the wantonness of wayward pride, through the restraints of personal respect, public order, and even private gratitude; and levelled the shafts of his satire and contempt against the very highest personage in the land,—the same his own best benefactor. Then, and not till then, was he made to feel the heavy hand of power, when he had stung it to the quick; then, and not till then, was he made to bite the dust of humiliation before the authority he had insulted. Yet, even then, the sage was not forgotten in the delinquent, nor the claims of the "High Priest of science" lost on the clemency and consideration of his judges. He was treated with a leniency, we had almost said a respect, perfectly without parallel in the annals of princely vengeance; and never before or since has power been seen to relax its grasp with so little of injury to the victim, that had the temerity to offend it. Lastly, we have seen that the persons who thus treated this great man, were, in the whole world *at the time*, the most friendly to science; and who looked with the most favourable eye upon the very conclusion for which our own Protestant writers would have it that he suffered; as though Providence, foreseeing the unjust inference that would be sought to be deduced by the enemies of his Church from this remarkable transaction, designed to bring together the circumstances of all others the most happily fitted to expose and defeat it.

As to anything else, we shall not attempt to deny, that, at the period in question, as indeed at all times, there were scattered through the community a number of inferior minds, who, altogether the slaves of Aristotle and the schools, regarded the recent discoveries as so many dangerous innovations: that these men were ready to go any length in the defence of the doctrines and methods to which they were so blindly wedded: that, with an appropriate adaptation of means to their end, they were but too well-inclined to put every gainsayer to the rack, or at least, in prison, in default of any more intellectual way of dealing with

the growing danger : that such minds were to be found, too, in the several subdivisions of the ecclesiastical order, we are equally disposed to admit, and to regard the memory of such men as Caccini with anything but respect ; yet is it no less equally true, as the monuments of that period demonstrate, that such blind and extravagant adherence to the Stagyrite, had its rise solely in the esteem which his genius so justly extorted : that the authority of this philosopher, at all times great, was never held to be unquestionable, as it was never allowed to go unquestioned by some writer or other : that Galileo was not the first to disturb this almost universal sway which he held over the minds of men : that his fortune in the schools has not been uniform, nor his yoke ever tamely submitted to, having been even proscribed in his day by the highest authority : that this blind and extravagant reverence in which his every dictum was held, was confined, for the most part, to the inferior ranks of Churchmen ; and that, in the same proportion in which we at the present day assume or exaggerate the violence with which these men sought to uphold their favourite's sway, in the same proportion do we exalt the character of those who, placed in the post of dignity and ecclesiastical power, checked and defeated the malignant purpose of their bigoted inferiors. Surely, such a character as Maraffi is sufficient to redeem any order of men, even if more steeped in intellectual degradation than the Dominican order are asserted to have been. The apology which that enlightened and generous man made to the wounded feelings of Galileo has been criticised, and, as we think, not without reason, as unjust in its sweeping censure, uncalled-for by its object, and unbecoming in one who, by his position, should have been the father and protector, not the accuser, of the body that placed him at their head. But, at all events, the most inveterate disliker of the religious orders must confess, that the *amende* of Maraffi has left nothing to desire ; that it evinces the quickest sense of the wrong done, and the reparation to be made, and that a body, in which such men as he, and Ricardi, and Nicolo Scomberg, would be sure to be buoyed up, while its Caccinis and Lorinis would be left to grovel in their native mire, must not have been an order altogether insensible to sterling and transcendent merit. It is, then, nothing to say, that, in the religious orders which at the time engrossed almost all the learning of their day, there were to be found, and in no inconsiderable number if you will, men capable of acting a violent and unbecoming part. Shew us, either now or then, the rank or profession, no matter how exalted, that has not its vulgar, and these the greater number ; but it is everything to say, that the bigoted virulence of such creatures was rendered

perfectly innocuous, by the superior wisdom and moderation of the high-minded men who held the reins of ecclesiastical authority. With the support of such, and with the approbation of the respectable of every order, he (Galileo) might have afforded to dispense with the applause or the acquiescence of the less enlightened; but no! the philosophic Aman could not enjoy in peace the favour of the great, while one despised Mardochæus sate in the gate, and rose not to do him homage.

But was not the opinion declared to be heretical? No,—and in thinking otherwise, men permit themselves, perhaps wilfully, to be deceived by the words of course of a legal instrument,—the set phrases of a court of justice, without attending to the public acceptation of those terms, which, more than their grammatical construction, ever decides their meaning. The words “*heretical*”—“*heresy*,” in the sentence of 1633, are but the *stylus curiæ*,—the evidence is most decisive: that of the Pontiff, in whose name it issued, and of the person condemned addressing his very judges. “No!” says Urban, “the Church has not condemned that system, nor is it to be considered as heretical, but only as rash.” Let us now hear Galileo himself standing before the Inquisition in the year named; he speaks of it with the consent and acquiescence of the court, as of a doctrine condemned *ad interim*, “pour le présent condamnée,”*—that is not to be taught in its absolute form, until proved to be true. But do we not see the two propositions, the one declaring the immobility of the sun, the other the motion of the earth, both condemned in the sentence as respectively heretical and erroneous in faith? Yes; but that condemnation is solely the work of the qualifiers—inferior officers of the Inquisition, and not of the Inquisition itself, which merely recites this, together with the other facts of the inquiry of 1616, by way of preamble to their sentence; whereas the Inquisitors did not at all trouble themselves with considering the truth or falsehood—the innocence or poison—of the opinion asserted, but only with the question, whether or not the publication of its defence in the “*Dialogues*” was an infringement of their injunction of 1616? The whole history of the trial proves, that the abstract question they left where they found it. Now, we have had more than ample evidence to show that it was never pronounced heretical.† Why, then, is it styled

* Pièces originales, p. 75, as quoted by Delambre.

† It would be easy to extend that evidence. Thus,—on the 24th of August, 1632, when the *Dialogues* were about to be condemned, a letter was dispatched by order of the Grand Duke, to Rome, in exculpation of his mathematician. It was penned in the name of the Duke's secretary, Andrea Cioli, but there was no doubt that it was composed by Galileo himself,—Venturi says it is in his hand-writing. That

throughout the sentence a heresy? We have already assigned the reason; it is the style of a court, which, being primarily established "*against heretical depravity*," by a very natural adaptation of language, terms every thing that comes before it "heresy," *even offences not at all against faith; nay, matters of fact which have nothing whatsoever to do with opinion; the sole punishment of excommunication inflicted on the staunchest and most unsuspected in faith of Catholics, for some moral fault, constitutes in the language of the court, a "heretic,"*—and to show that this is not an explanation adopted for the convenience of the occasion, any one that wishes for its confirmation, has only to consult the "*Directorium Inquisitorum*" of Nicholas Eymeric, compiled many a long year before Galileo was thought of.

It was only, then, in that wide, improper, and *technical* sense, that the opinion in the sentence has been denominated a "heresy;" and the circumstance offers no more proof that it was ever held as such in the proper and ordinary sense of the word, than the language of our several courts of law affords to show, that one man had been at such a time in "*the custody of the marshal of the Marshalsea*," while he may never have had the honour of seeing the face of the said marshal, or his Marshalsea,—or that another was a debtor to our gracious Queen, though owing at the moment to her Majesty nought, save that which no Briton worthy of the name will ever tire of either owing or paying—his allegiance. We recollect once hearing an amusing story of a very worthy squire from the west, coming up to town express

letter is demonstrative of the point, that the anti-Copernican doctrine had never been definitely asserted; since in it, Galileo alleges it as a proof, at least of his zeal and well-intentioned interest, that he composed the *Dialogues* with a view of affording those with whom it rested to decide on a point of doctrine, as he says, involving questions about which they could not ordinarily be supposed to be conversant, with the arguments for and against, so as to abridge their labour and expenditure of time; the words are, "That those, with whom it rested to deliberate on such matters, might, with less labour and loss of time, know to which side truth leans, and reconcile accordingly the meaning of Scripture."

In 1624, in his letter to Ingoli, he describes his opinion as barely "suspected;" nay, in his letter to Renieri, in which he gives an account of his final condemnation, he vents himself in bitter complaint, that he was made out "*almost a heretic*."

The truth is, there was no decision to the effect, that the doctrine of the earth's motion was in the strictness of the term heretical,—this we cannot too often repeat. Thus Grassi—thus Bellarmine—thus Urban to Cardinal Zoller, and to Campanella—thus Ricardi—thus Ciampoli—thus the whole court of Rome, described it; thus, with the consent of his judges, (the Inquisition itself) did Galileo more than once, both by word and in writing, describe it. The Jesuits, even those who, like Scheiner, externally combatted it, are asserted to have believed it. In short, as Magalotti, the relative of Pope Urban and one of his cardinals, said, writing to Galileo and Guiducci, "It was not in the power of the holy office to declare it, (or any other doctrine), heresy; it would take an œcumenical council for that."—(*Letter of the 4th of September, 1632.*)

for the sole purpose of chastising an unfortunate barrister who had been constrained to describe him, in the pleadings, as "confederating" and "conspiring." "Me!" he would exclaim, boiling with rage, "who never confederated or conspired in my life. I'll teach the rascal what it is to call an O'Branagan a confederator!" and pretty much the same irresistible temptation to smile, do our English self-complacent wiseacres produce in their Italian neighbours, when they are described as deducing, in the plenitude of their sagacity, shrewd consequences from the style of an Inquisitorial decree.*

We now turn our attention to what Mr. Whewell has to say in that singular chapter, (the 4th section of his *Sequel to Copernicus*), which apropos enough, commences with this strange sentence: "We have seen that the doctrines promulgated by Copernicus excited no visible alarm among the theologians of his own time, and we have assigned as a reason for this, that those who were disposed to assert the sway of authority in all matters of belief, had not yet been roused and ruffled by the aggressions of innovators in philosophy and religion, as they soon afterwards were."† Surely Homer is taking his nap. What! with the work "*De Revolutionibus*" making its appearance in the very midst of all the troubles of the so-called reformation in 1543!

The second paragraph commences with a dictum no less startling in its way, "*In Italy the Church entertained the persuasion that her authority could not be upheld at all, without maintaining it to be Supreme on all points.*" The spirit of dogmatism, &c." We are almost tempted to hazard an opinion—indeed the risk would not be much—that this (the 4th section &c.) is the part of the work on which the respected Author most prides himself, it is so completely his own—yet, it is not by writing such as this, that Mr. Whewell has attained his present proud position; nor, should he often recur to this style, will he advance his European reputation; it is written—we should hope not conceived—in the spirit of one conscious of addressing a party with whom strength and injuriousness of assertion will

* We had intended to animadvert with some degree of well merited severity upon the disgraceful attempt of Mr. Drinkwater, to entertain the suspicion of Galileo's having been put to the torture, mainly on the grounds of another of those phrases, "*rigorous examen*," found in this document; though he had been warned by Brenna, whom he affects to have read, that it also is but a phrase of course; he is too sagacious to have believed it himself; but the same sagacity told him, that it was enough to throw out an injurious suspicion, to have it fix in some minds. But what lays bare the cloven-foot of bigotry in this writer is, his travelling back *nine* centuries to find a make-weight for his charge of superstitious blindness against Rome, in the case of St. Virgil. Want of space alone prevents us from exposing, as it deserves, this piece of ignorant prejudice; but what an implied eulogy, when the link of bigotry has to stretch across the period of nine hundred years, and half the Continent of Europe, to connect the discordant cases of Virgil and Galileo!

† Hist. vol. i. p. 397.

go down for proof. But Mr. Whewell should recollect, that the Church of England is not Christendom; any more than Great Britain is the world; and beyond the narrow circle of the narrow-minded zealots of the Anglican pale, that assertion will excite but a smile, and be forgotten. Unfortunately for its truth, so little is it borne out by the fact, that it is made, by *the Cardinals* and other leading characters of the day, a matter of *personal reproach* against Urban, that he had the overweening vanity to conceive that notion, and to ambition to have a dominion as unquestioned and unbounded in the world of science, as in the religious world. See the life of Ciampoli in Targioni for that saying of a Cardinal, (Bentivoglio) "whose learning and talents (says the writer,) have enhanced the lustre of his birth:" "Egli (il Papa) era sommamente ambizioso di dar leggi à tutta l'università delle scienze; alla qual gelosia &c."

Having thus established to his own perfect satisfaction, that the Church of Rome assumed on principle a supremacy of dominion in the department of science as complete and unconfined as in matters of religion, Mr. Whewell proceeds to draw therefrom the following conclusion, not unworthy of such notable premises: "It appears" (vol. i. History, p. 400) "not to be going too far to suppose that the extravagant assumption of the Church of Rome, which it was impossible sincerely to allow, and necessary to evade by artifice, generated in the philosophers of Italy an acuteness and subtlety, but also, a suppleness and servility, very different from the vigorous and independent habits of mind of England and Germany." Now we beg to say it *does appear* going too far in Mr. Whewell, or any other, to suppose anything so insulting to a large and respectable class in an ancient and highly civilized country, not only upon insufficient grounds, but upon such "*extravagant assumption*" as we have shown Mr. Whewell's to have been,—and it appears to be particularly unwarrantable in an historian of such a thing as science, to attempt to accuse the ancient and venerable Church of such a people, of producing a state of mental servility even in science, unless he were prepared to prove his position beyond all question. Now, we need not say, Mr. Whewell has not done this; how indeed could he? Was it not the country of a Leonardo da Vinci, and of so many others whom we have already named? Did Colbert and Louis XIV think they were introducing a servile and contemptible mind into their kingdom, when they invited Dominic Cassini to lay the foundation of astronomy there? Did the vigorous and independent minds of Germany think with Mr. Whewell, when they travelled into Italy to seek that mental discipline and education in science, which they could not find at home? Did our English Harvey, when he repaired

to Bologna, to acquire, at the feet of its great professors, that insight into physiology that made it scarce a merit in him to discover the double circulation?† Was it not a Cardinal that nurtured the rising genius of Regiomontanus, who was, by the bye, a believer in the Heliocentric doctrine? Was it not the Church of Rome which rewarded his scientific merit with a mitre? To which Copernicus fled for protection, and to whose guardian care he entrusted the offspring of his mighty mind by a dying bequest? If England has the honour of giving birth to the great Newton, where did he find his best commentators? In the priests of Rome. Where did his philosophy find a Lucretius—

“To wed it to immortal verse,”

achieving that, which the witty Voltaire pronounced impossible? in Rome; and who prescribed the theme? A Cardinal (Valenti); and who rewarded the singularly-gifted bard? A series of Popes. And who read and relished him? Not Englishmen—the name of Benedict Stacy is scarcely known amongst them. Or is it because the philosophers of Italy did not throw off the yoke of authority in religion, like their German and English neighbours; seeing that authority was alike established by Jesus Christ, and necessary to save their country from the deplorable scenes that disgraced every nation into which Protestantism has been able to force its way. Is it, therefore, we would ask, they are not to be thought to have possessed vigorous and independent minds? If so, then we all know what the vigorous and independent habits of thought, which Mr. Whewell admires in his English and German friends, means,—it means “disregard for that authority of which Christ said; *“He that hears you hears me, and he that despises you despises me;”*”—it means that independence of thought, which authorized the most impious and extravagant reveries, and worshipped them as divine; that vigour which unsheathed the sword in every country where Protestantism obtained an hour’s standing, and bathed it in the blood of its fellow-citizens.‡ This is the independence—this the vigour—in which, happily for their country, the Italian philosophers yielded to their ultramontane contemporaries,—but in all that exalts, and refines, and dignifies our nature, how much their superiors! Does Mr. Whewell forget that the contrast has been made and tested? But how different the result from what would justify Mr. Whewell: “There was,” says Mr. Lyell, speaking of the

† There are some who vindicate the honour of this discovery to the Jesuit Fabri, others to Fra Paolo Sarpi.

‡ *Evangelium vult sanguinem*,—the Gospel (meaning the Reformation) demands blood, was the pithy wording of Zuingli for a maxim which Luther and history attest was not allowed to remain a dead letter in the early reforming code.—Vide Erasmi Epist. ad Fratr. Germ. Inf.

geological discussion on the duration of the world, in the sixteenth century (*Principles*, vol. i. p. 36, 5th ed.) "sufficient spirit of toleration and candour amongst the Italian ecclesiastics, to allow the subject to be canvassed with much freedom. They even entered warmly into the subject themselves, often favouring different sides of the question, and however much we may deplore the loss of time and labour devoted to the defence of untenable positions, it must be conceded that they displayed *far less polemic bitterness than certain writers that followed them 'beyond the Alps,' two centuries and a half later.*" And farther on, (p. 59) "I return with pleasure," the same writer says, "to the geologists of Italy, who preceded, as has been already shewn, the naturalists of other countries in their investigation into the ancient history of the earth; and who still (in the 17th and 18th centuries) maintained a decided pre-eminence. They refuted and ridiculed the physico-theological system of Burnet, Whiston, and Woodward; while Vallisneri, in his comments on the Woodwardian theory, remarked how much the interests of religion, as well as those of sound philosophy, had suffered by perpetually mixing up (as their English neighbours had done, and have continued to do) the sacred writings with questions in physical science." Who showed here the vigorous and independent habits of thought? And to show how little qualified some people are, even to imitate a bright example, let us hear Mr. Powell (p. 187), for we love poetic justice: "No one now doubts the truth of the solar system; or is led to reject revelation on the ground of its being at variance with it," (yet) "the fact is, the very same difficulties and objections are still alleged by many at the present day, not, indeed, with regard to the solar system, which, very inconsistently, they admit, but in reference to the discoveries in geology. *We have at the present day zealots animated by as bitter a spirit of persecution, though happily without the power to execute it, as those of the Roman tribunal.*" Even Mr. Whewell, himself, has not that implicit faith in the vigorous intellect of his countrymen being such as to carry them through "*dilemmas*" similar to those which he supposes to have arisen in the days of Galileo, but through which, as we have shown, the cardinals of Rome clearly saw their way—dilemmas that have arisen, and will arise, in number and form such "as we can hardly foresee," presenting "*questions of no small real difficulty,*" and to meet which the learned author candidly acknowledges his inability to "lay down an adequate canon." Now we think there can be no better canon than that laid down by the cardinals in the case of Galileo. Let men of science pursue their own proper train of investigation, keeping aloof from all theological reasonings. Let them leave to the religious world its own way of interpreting the

Scriptures, taking care like true philosophers not to propound their conclusions as certain truths, however probable, until they shall have been rigidly demonstrated; and then, when the physical demonstration arrives, he must be a fool who will not interpret revelation accordingly. This to be sure may offer a serious difficulty to the Protestant, who has already decided for himself, (*and on Protestant principles no decision can go higher*) that his interpretation is right, and to surrender that interpretation at the shrine of human science would to be invert the order of things, and make the word of God, as the Protestant deems it, subservient to human reason: but for the Catholic, who can irrevocably hold to no one tenet as divine, but that which has been proposed as such by the great living—speaking authority, which has been established by Christ “to teach all nations the things he has commanded,” and which has never pronounced upon such philosophical opinions, there can be no difficulty. He knows that the truths of nature and supernatural revelation can never be at variance, and it can only follow, at worst, that *his* interpretation has been wrong. But to return to astronomy. If Bullialdus and Gassendi and Castelli were priests of that Church that acknowledges Rome for its head, they also coincided with Galileo. If Ramus was a Protestant and an Aristotelian, he was no less opposed to the movement of the earth. If Osiander was bold as a reformer, he was timid in asserting the Heliocentric doctrine. If the Inquisition at Rome prohibited the teaching of a problem for an ascertained truth, opposed as it was to the letter of Scripture, the greatest Protestant astronomer of them all (Tycho) not only proved that it was a problem, but became the apostle of the opposite opinion, and made a proselyte on theologic grounds of his Protestant friend Rothman. If in Italy it could boast not a few friends as well as many enemies, in England it was scouted by the renowned Bacon; rejected by the illustrious Gilbert; written against by Alexander Ross; and if taught by Bishop Wilkins, it was not without finding it necessary to satisfy his Protestant readers, that the Scriptures were not insuperably against it. Nor when the Italian Bruno taught the earth's motion in our island, do we find he made any converts among “the vigorous and independent thinkers of England.”

But to return;—there is a loftiness in the air with which every little Protestant takes his fling at the Church of Rome, on the subject of Galileo, as though he were as strong in conscious rectitude as to be perfectly unassailable on that point. They have certainly very convenient memories, these our Protestant

friends; the story of Galileo is as fresh with them as though it were of yesterday—while they forget “those modes of inquisition” (as Burke said), “that should never be named to ears organized to the chaste sounds of equity and justice:”—that barbarous code whereby they enacted ignorance and proscribed a nation’s mind, making it felony for the professors of the religion of their fathers, to get taught at home, and double felony to get taught abroad. They talk of Copernicus and Galileo, as though they knew what they were talking about. Do they know that in the sentiments of Galileo one of the proudest achievements of Copernicus’s genius, was the reformation of the Calendar, in which he had so large a share? and what was it, that kept “the vigorous and independent minds of England,” for full two centuries, from adopting that improvement which has made nearly all Europe its debtor? Sheer bigotry—hostility to science through religious hate,—yes! they had rather quarrel with the whole host of the heavens, than agree with the Pope in counting time. It was a just humiliation, when at length they were driven into its adoption, and obliged to call in the aid of those Catholic talents they had proscribed in the person of Bishop Walmesley. For the solitary instance of Galileo, how many a Galileo could we not point out in Protestant history? How was not Descartes hunted down by the churchmen of Holland? How was not poor Christian Wolff, the most amiable of men,—a man who may be said to have raised the superstructure, if not laid the foundation, of the philosophy of his day? He was persecuted, not indeed as Galileo, for Galileo was not exiled from his country, nor stript of his honours and emoluments,—but poor Wolff suffered this and more, and from the ministers of his own persuasion; by them he was denounced to the secular power, not as an innovator, but as an atheist,—a confederate of Spinoza’s. It was not a mere Gerundian text from an obscure Friar that was hurled at him,—but it was the celebrated Franké, the founder of the *Orphan House*, that, prostrate in his church, gave God thanks publicly, that the inoffensive sage was banished his home—his kindred—his friends.* Such was the savage triumph over a fallen victim; while there was no Maraffi found to make the *amende*, and soothe the outraged feelings of the injured man. No! but the sacred name of the Divinity was solemnly invoked, to sanction and approve the pride of ferocious bigotry.

Let the English portion of our revilers, ere they would again open their lips on this subject, go read their own history at this very period, and see what it exhibits. What Pope half so infalli-

* This fact has been wisely passed over in silence in the life of Franké, which has lately issued from the English press.

ble as the Protestant Pope, James I? What scenes more calculated to excite inexpressible disgust and contempt in every ingenuous mind than the history of the Reformed Churches throughout Europe at that moment? To see the Synod of Dort—that Protestant general council convened by Pope James, ratifying its decrees in the blood of the patriot Barneveldt, and Moloch-like demanding for its victims whole hetacombs of its own children; its Grotiuses among the rest. What Inquisition more complete than the hateful Star-chamber? or, the High-Ecclesiastical Commission-court for the suppression of heresy, “Whereby,” says the Act 16 Charles I, that abolished it, “the king’s subjects sustained great and insufferable wrongs and oppressions.” Let them read the degradation of their nation in the persecution of the unhappy Edmund Peacham, the Somersetshire clergyman, victimized for a sermon, which he never preached or published—which, perhaps, he never intended to preach—for no earthly crime, but that it was possible he might preach it—questioned the poor old creature, in the graphic language of the record, “before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture,” for matter of accusation against himself; then, in the absence of proof thus cruelly sought for, tried and found guilty, and at length expiring the victim of the foulest conspiracy. King, ministry, every judge in the land but one, and a jury of Englishmen, all co-operating to crush a poor feeble country curate.

Should any one take it into his head to move in the next session of parliament for aid to promote any one object of science at Maynooth—how would the loudest declaimers about the ignorance and superstition of the Church of Rome be found to vote?—our lives for it, against the motion; though even for the sake of trying to distract the attention of the Irish priest from his much dreaded electioneering avocation, the experiment would be worth the making. Will they vote for a grant to erect a printing press there? for the enlargement of its scanty library? for the purpose of a modern philosophic apparatus? With the strongest desire to see the scientific education of their *Alumni* achieved, and every facility for that purpose attained, are not the trustees notoriously apprehensive of rousing the rabid hostility of the declaimers against ignorance and popery by a demand for parliamentary aid for these purposes? If these persons truly love science, let them come forward and vote a few thousands for this lauded and laudable object. Then may we chance to believe they truly love science for its own sake. But why do we speak of such things? Are they not at this very hour throwing every

obstacle in the way of the education of a whole nation, because they are papists and not to be proselytized? Have they not recently displayed the same spirit against their fellow Protestants by opposing their admission to the Universities, simply because they were more practically Protestant than themselves, having dared to use their right of private judgment, and differ with the Establishment? Intolerance indeed! A Protestant should be the very last to mention the word. "Ils sont les plus intolérans de tous," says Rousseau, speaking of the Protestant Churches, "car ils sont intolérans sans savoir pourquoi."

ART. VI.—*Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Kinsale Election Petition.*

THE history of the Spottiswoode Fund being already well known to the public, we shall content ourselves in this paper with making a few comments on the composition of the confederacy by which it was raised, and with stating the results of which it has been productive.

The committee which undertook the management of the *Sacred Fund*, consisted of twenty-three individuals. Of these, nine were attorneys, one a conveyancer, and two equity draughtsmen. The rest were a compound of printers, bankers, accountants, appraisers, *et hoc genus omne*.

The purity of these gentlemen's motives is, of course, above suspicion; nay, opposed to them as we are in politics, the pious and constitutional object for which they combined attracts our admiration. The people of Ireland had, at the general elections just then concluded, returned a larger majority of Liberal representatives than they had done at any former period. The attorneys, printers, and appraisers, of the British metropolis, saw at once the danger which threatened Toryism and the empire from this extraordinary influx of "Papists and Ribbonmen," and accordingly meditated on the means of rescuing both from their impending dissolution. The only feasible mode for effecting this laudable object which presented itself to their consideration, was to cut away this "alien" majority, and to replace it by an equal number of loyal Conservatives. Men of ordinary capacities would not have been able to discover the means of removing so large a majority; but these Spottiswoode confederators thought at once of Tory committees. These worthies knew that if they could secure majorities of men of their own moral and

political complexion on those tribunals, there could be no doubt as to the result. They were not hot-headed enthusiasts, but cool, calculating men of business. They knew the nature of the tools wherewith they were to work out their own profit, and their party's salvation. More than one-half of them were lawyers. These had had long experience in the tactics of election committees, and had seen, in the course of their own practice, how pliable to the purposes of faction were the Tory majorities of those tribunals. They knew by experience that those men would not be grievously shocked if their *political bias* should happen to promote the success of their own political partisans. This was not a novel feature in the history of that faction: the packing of juries had been the appropriate archetype of the packing of committees. As these were the principles of the party, and as the general election afforded an opportunity for carrying them out on an extensive scale, these Spottiswoode combinatorians were right in recommending their "persecuted Irish brethren," to petition against every return where they could discover the least pretext for a Tory committee to set aside the popular representative, or to ruin him by the expense of a protracted inquiry. From the experience of every preceding session, they expected to have majorities of their own party on the committees of the present; and with them it was not the nature of the cause, but the composition of the tribunal, which was the object of attention. How just they were in their estimate of the feelings of their Tory fellow-countrymen, and how complete would have been their success had the destinies of the ballot-box given them the *proper* committees, must be manifest from a glance to the course of the proceedings in any one case in which a Tory committee has had to decide on an Irish election petition. Fortunately for Ireland, the announcement of their scheme aroused the Reformers of both kingdoms, and drew attention to the subject.

In consequence of the excitement produced by the proceedings of this extraordinary confederacy, a greater number of petitions was presented by both Liberals and Tories, than had been known on any former occasion. As those presented by the Liberal party were few, and can be quickly disposed of, we give them in the first place. In the subjoined table, we give the numbers polled for the successful candidates against whom petitions were presented, and for those whom the petitioners sought to have returned :—

	<i>Sitting Members.</i>	<i>Nos. Polled.</i>	<i>Liberal Candidates.</i>	<i>Nos. Polled.</i>	<i>Majority.</i>
Carrickfergus	P. Kirk	446	D. Rennie	418	28
*Downpatrick	David Kerr	190	J. C. White	131	59
†Kerry County	A. Blennerhasset	546	Hon. F. W. Mullins	498	48
Newry	J. Ellis :	338	D. C. Brady	305	33
‡Portarlington	Hon. G. L. D. Damer	—	F. Dunne	—	—
||Sligo County	Alexander Percival	439	D. Jones	353	86
Tralee	J. Bateman	75	M. O'Connell	64	11

Gross majority of Conservatives over the Liberals on six petitions 265

Of the above petitions, those from Carrickfergus, Downpatrick, Portarlington, and Sligo County, were abandoned before the committees had been struck. The petition from Kerry was abandoned after a Liberal committee had assembled to try its merits, on the counsel finding that they could not succeed without entering into a scrutiny, which would be both tedious and expensive. In the Newry case, the petitioner was defeated before a Tory committee on the following technical ground:—It may be proper to premise, that the petitioner's counsel, in his opening statement, declared, that the only question for the committee to try, would be as to whether the sitting member had a sufficient property qualification. § On the first witness being called, he stated, that his father, the returning officer of Newry, had set out for London to produce the poll-books on the trial of this petition, but that, on his arrival in Dublin, a disease, from which he had been suffering for some time, had so increased, as to render it necessary for him to undergo a surgical operation, which prevented his coming farther. He, however, sent the witness over with the poll-books, having first sealed them up in his presence. The witness produced them in the same sealed state in which he had got them from his father. The committee held that this was not a sufficient proof of the authenticity of these books, and thus put an end to the inquiry. The connexion between the authenticity of the poll-books, and the qualification of Mr. Ellis, being to us imperceptible, we recommend our readers to compare this decision with that of the Waterford

* There were two other candidates, but neither was concerned in the petitions presented.

† Mr. M. J. O'Connell polled 697 votes. There was no petition against his return.

‡ The numbers polled for the respective candidates are not mentioned in the petitions, and we have not been able to find them in any other document. The voters cannot be numerous, as the population is little more than 3000.

|| E. J. Cooper, a Conservative, is the other member—polled 502.

§ In the petition the charges were, want of qualification, treating, bribery, intimidation, and unduly and illegally influencing the electors. These latter charges had been given up; they could not be afterwards relied on, as they had been omitted from the opening statement.

(Tory) committee, where, as the petitioner's case could not proceed without the poll-books, the preparation of the evidence as to the authenticity of them, should have claimed special attention.

In the Tralee case, Mr. M. O'Connell had been deprived of the return through the extraordinary decision of the assessor, on two of the most frivolous objections that had ever been raised. One of these was, that the form of the certificate of registry in the schedule of the Reform Act, had the words, "was this day duly registered," and that in the certificates objected to, the words "*this day*" were omitted; though the date was written at the bottom of the document, where the registering barrister affixed his signature. The other objection was, that some voters had not specified, in their affidavits of registry, the street, lane, or place, in which they resided, but merely described themselves as "of Tralee, in the borough of Tralee;" they had particularly specified the street, lane, or place, where the premises lay, out of which they sought to qualify. The committee reversed the decisions of the assessor on both objections; and placed on the poll sixty-nine votes for Mr. M. O'Connell, and thirty-three for Mr. Bateman, which had been rejected on the above grounds, at the election. This gave the former gentleman a majority of twenty-five on the gross poll. In addition to the obviously frivolous nature of these objections, we may observe, that it was the clerk of the peace, and not the voters, who had to prepare the certificates and affidavits; and that it is an indisputable principle of law, that where an elector has done everything in his power to secure his right to the franchise, he is not to be prejudiced by the neglect or ignorance of any officer over whom he has no controul.* The decision of the committee, which consisted of Liberals and Conservatives, was unanimous on the first objection. The propriety or justice of either decision has never been questioned.

Thus, of the three cases in which the Liberal party proceeded till a committee had been struck, one was abandoned, although the political feelings of the majority of the Committee were similar to those of the petitioners: the second was defeated before a Tory committee, on a technical objection arising from circumstances which it was impossible to prevent or to anticipate: and in the third, the Liberal candidate was declared duly elected by two decisions, to the justice of which no man, and to the legal propriety of which no lawyer, could raise an objection.

* See post p. 125.

We now subjoin the list of the returns against which petitions were presented, at the instigation of the Spottiswoode confederacy:—

	<i>Sitting Members.</i>	<i>Nos. Polled.</i>	<i>Tory Candidates.</i>	<i>Nos. Polled.</i>	<i>Majority.</i>
Belfast	James Gibson	941	J. E. Tennent	901	40
	Earl of Belfast	922	G. Dunbar	869	53
Carlow (County)	J. A. Yates	730	T. Bunbury	643	87
	N. A. Vigors	730	H. Bruen	643	87
Carlow (Borough)	W. H. Maule	180	F. Bruen	158	22
Dublin	D. O'Connell	3556	G. A. Hamilton	3467	89
	J. Hutton	3542	T. B. West	3461	81
Kinsale	P. Mahony	103	Col. H. Thomas	98	5
Limerick (County)	Col. Fitzgibbon	858	A. S. O'Brien	14	844
	W. S. O'Brien	853	W. Maunsel	0	853
Longford	Luke White	650	A. Lefroy	522	128
	Col. Henry White	648	C. Fox	502	146
*Queen's County	J. W. Fitzpatrick	943	Hon. T. Vesey	894	49
Sligo (Borough)	J. P. Somers	263	J. Martin	208	54
†Waterford (City)	H. W. Barron	583	W. Beresford	426	57
Westmeath	M. L. Chapman	840	R. Hancock	393	447
	Sir R. Nagle	798	Sir R. Levinge	388	410
Wicklow (County)	J. Grattan	697	Col. Acton	623	74
	Col. R. Howard	690	R. Humphries	6	684
Youghal	F. J. Howard	158	W. Nicol	150	8

Gross majority of Liberals on thirteen Tory petitions 1904†

The reader will see, by comparing this list with that of the returns against which the Liberal party petitioned, how indifferent the Tories were to any odds of numbers against them, provided they had the selection of the judges.

There were some peculiarities connected with this batch of petitions, which should never be forgotten. In all of them there were those charges of bribery, corruption, intimidation, personation, and illegal influencing of voters, which Tory agents were so pre-eminently qualified to depict. In nine§ of them there were special charges against Catholic clergymen. In two|| of them the agents and servants of the crown were accused of using their official power and influence in endeavouring to procure the return of the Liberal candidates; and in two¶ only did the petitioners confine themselves to the common beaten path of bribery,

* Sir C. Coote is the other member for this county.

† T. Wyse is the other representative for this city. There was no petition against his return.

‡ We here give the result between the favourite candidates on each side, as being more likely to shew the relative strength of the parties. The result between the second candidates on each side, gives a majority of 2314 against the Tory petitioners.

§ Carlow county, Carlow borough, Kinsale, Limerick county, Longford, Queen's county, Sligo borough, Westmeath and Wicklow.

|| Dublin and Belfast.

¶ Waterford and Youghal.

corruption, and intimidation by mobs, &c. &c. That our readers may see how regardless of even the semblance of truth were the concoctors of these national libels, we shall lay before them a few extracts illustrative of the charges against the Catholic clergy.

The petition from the county of Limerick, after setting forth an awful catalogue of other grievances, complains, that "the priests and Roman Catholic clergymen of the said county, interfered with and influenced the electors of the Roman Catholic persuasion in the most illegal, violent and unconstitutional manner, in order to compel them to vote," &c. &c. "and did actually beat and violently assault some of the said electors, who refused to promise to vote according to the wishes and orders of the said priests," &c. &c.; "that several Roman Catholic priests used their influence in collecting said mobs, which they afterwards headed and led on in attacking the friends and supporters of the said Augustus Stafford O'Brien and Henry Maunsell;" and that "several mobs, headed by Roman Catholic priests and other partisans of the said," &c. &c. "not only continued publicly to parade the streets of the said city of Limerick in a revolting and alarming manner, but proceeded to commit divers gross outrages and assaults on the electors in the interest of the said Augustus Stafford O'Brien and Henry Maunsell." In the Longford petition, we are told that the Catholic priests denounced "the said Anthony Lefroy and Charles Fox as enemies of the people, and called over, standing at the altars and doors of said chapels, the names of the voters in their parishes, who were usually in the habit of attending at said chapels, and then and there caused and compelled such voters to stand forward and sign a paper, or put their marks thereto, pledging themselves to vote for said Luke White and Henry White." In the Queen's county petition, we are told, among other things, that the priests induced the people to believe that they would "incur the risk of damnation if they voted for the said Honourable Thomas Vesey." In this manner the charges against the Catholic clergy for "influencing the electors in a most illegal, violent, and unconstitutional manner," are repeated throughout the nine petitions with such a slight but judicious variation of circumstances, as would give them at least an air of probability.

The charges of intimidation are, of course, truly terrific. In the Longford petition we are told that "by night, armed parties went about to the houses of the voters supposed to be in the interest of the said Anthony Lefroy and Charles Fox, who took from their beds the said voters, threatened them, and, after placing them on their knees, swore them, on pain of death and de-

struction to themselves and their families, not to vote for the said Anthony Lefroy or Charles Fox, but to vote for the said Luke White and Henry White; and in order farther to intimidate, in many instances dug graves near the residences of said voters." From this charge we will leave our readers to judge of the others. For what crimes would be too improbable to be imputed to a party, who, in the course of their canvass, to secure a vote, would not stop at what would be very little if at all short of a felony?

The charges of the illegal exercise of the official influence of the crown, were naturally to be expected from the party who, during the long period of their ascendancy, had never allowed an election to pass without employing the agency of the Castle for the purposes of corruption. They, not supposing it possible that any men could resist such temptations, and wishing, perhaps, to sanction their own mal-practices by alleging that they still served as precedents for the guidance of others, accused their opponents of following the same course which they themselves had been pursuing for ages.

Such is a brief outline of the calumnies heaped on the Liberal party of this country. Yet what will our readers think of the veracity of Tories, when they find that *not one of those charges* did the petitioners dare to bring to investigation before a committee, except a charge of bribery against one of the members for Waterford, to which we shall presently call attention. So conscious were they of the utter groundlessness of these fabrications, that, in the statements required by law to be given in immediately before the sitting of the committee, they, in most cases, made not the slightest allusion to them, but confined themselves to the scrutiny of the qualifications of the candidates or the voters.

Though the petitioners had never any intention to bring these charges to investigation, they were necessarily compelled to introduce them into the petitions, as it was on the pretence that these offences against "the freedom and purity of election" had been committed, that the *Sacred Fund* was founded. But though this might have been one reason for giving circulation to these wholesale national calumnies, we cannot believe that it was the only one. The vilifying and misrepresentation of the Irish formed the basis of the system on which the ascendancy party had been acting for centuries. They were continually representing the Irish as the lowest and most degraded of mankind, and as the enemies of Britain, so as to make them the objects of the contempt and detestation of Englishmen. Had they not succeeded in making the people of England believe those imputations, they never would have been allowed to proceed in their

course of massacre, spoliation, and oppression. Misrepresentation had ever been with them the prelude to every species of misrule; and it seems to be even still the "sacred and inalienable" privilege of the party. Having been so long in the habit of plundering and oppressing the Irish, why should they not still continue to malign them? We cannot believe that even the conscientious and "holy men" of that party ever deemed it criminal to falsely vilify the Irish Catholics; for how could it be criminal to calumniate them, when it was not criminal to rob them of their property, and put them out of the pale of the constitution, "for the honour and glory of the Lord, and the advancement and security of the Protestant religion"?

We sincerely hope that Englishmen will be taught by the issue of these petitions, to estimate the credibility of Tory fabrications against the character of Irishmen. They have believed them too long, and, as we may show on another occasion, have paid dearly for their credulity. Let them only consider that these Tories did not hesitate to present thirteen petitions to the House of Commons, containing the grossest imputations against the Irish Liberal party, the truth or falsehood of which would be discovered within six or seven months at the utmost, and of the utter falsehood of which they themselves were so conscious, that they never alluded to them when the time for substantiating them had arrived; and then let Englishmen ask themselves, what imputations would these Tories hesitate to make, when there would be no chance of their being so speedily detected?

Of the thirteen petitions, one only was abandoned before a committee was struck. That was the one from the county of Limerick, in which the petitioners were particularly bound to proceed, as the conduct of the Tory landlords and clergymen was put in issue by a petition from two of the electors, praying to be admitted parties to defend the return, who accused "several of the landlords, and some few of the clergymen of the Protestant religion," of aiding and assisting in procuring, and of paying for, the attendance of mobs to intimidate the Liberal electors; of locking up and detaining in imprisonment several electors who would have voted for the Liberal candidates; and of endeavouring "to influence the electors of the Roman Catholic persuasion, over whom they had control, either as landlords, claimants of tithe, composition, or other liabilities, in the most illegal, violent, and unconstitutional manner."

In the Carlow county, Carlow borough, Longford, Queen's county, and Wicklow cases, the petitioners gave up the contest on the committees refusing to open the registries. With the propriety of these decisions, few unprejudiced minds will be found

to quarrel. As this question has been so repeatedly discussed, it would be now useless for us to offer any remarks on the legal portion of the subject. But to common justice and to common sense we can conceive nothing more irreconcilable than that men's qualifications should be destroyed before a committee in London, though they had never been questioned on the spot, where alone they were capable of a fair investigation. Men are allowed to register, and if they vote for the Conservative candidate, all is right; but if not, their franchises are attacked before a tribunal sitting 500 or 600 miles from their home, without their having the slightest notice of the intended attack, or the means to rebut it. For it should not be forgotten, that it is only on the day on which the committee first meet, that the lists of votes objected to on each side are exchanged.* By the practice of opening the registries, one party may strike off the votes of half a county through the neglect or ignorance of the other party, or his inability to meet the necessary expenses; and thus the electors would be deprived of their rights on issues raised without their knowledge or consent, between two claimants for a seat in the legislature. Is not such a practice inconsistent with that first principle of the law of England, that no man should suffer in his person, property, or rights, until he should have a fair opportunity of defending himself? If the franchise be "the noblest birthright of a British subject," as one of our most eminent judges once termed it, why should he be so unceremoniously deprived of it, while he cannot be deprived of any other right, or of any portion of his property, without a fair notice and a fair trial, on an issue, in which he himself must be one of the principals?

In the Sligo borough case, the only subject relied on by the petitioners, was an alleged want of qualification in the sitting member. But it appeared that he had property sufficient to qualify him not only for a borough, but almost even for a county. The petitioners so far failed in proving their allegation, that they only *escaped* having their petition declared frivolous and vexatious. We may here mention a curious discrepancy between several witnesses relative to the value of one portion of that gentleman's property, to show the absurdity of committees in London deciding on the value of lands in Ireland, on the evidence of engineers, surveyors, and such other theoretical gentlemen, who have no practical knowledge of husbandry,—who never tenanted an acre of land in their lives,—and who know nothing

* Yet in cases of controverted elections from Scotland, and from counties in England and Wales, the list of objected votes must be given in *ten* days before the meeting of the committee. In the cases of cities or boroughs in England or Wales, they must be sent in *five* clear days, exclusive of the day of delivery.

of its value, except what they hear from those employed in its management, or what they read in their "ready-reckoners." Finding in these little treatises the value of alluvial, sandy, loamy, mountain, and other soils, laid down with extraordinary nicety and discrimination, these gentlemen, when they enter on a farm, imagine, in all the pride of science, that they can tell its value with the same mathematical precision as they tell its measure. Hence arise those discrepancies between them and practical husbandmen, which committees are frequently rather puzzled to reconcile. In the present case, four witnesses were called by the petitioners to reduce the value of one portion of the sitting member's property. One, a surveyor, who valued it for the Tithe Commissioners, fixed its value at £84. 16s. a-year; another, who valued it for the county cess, estimated it at £125; a third, the county coroner, valued it at £140; and the fourth, an engineer, at £150. The lands were actually let by one joint lease to several tenants at £310 a-year, from the 1st November, 1836; and the agent of the sitting member proved that he had received the rents at that rate. A farmer, who knew the lands well, proved that they were worth that sum.

The Dublin petition attracted such general attention at the period of its being under investigation, that, notwithstanding its importance, we scarcely feel warranted in laying before our readers more than a general condensed view of the objections to the several classes of voters, which were argued before the committee.

There were twenty-eight classes of objections delivered in by the petitioners. The first of these was of the following nature: The form of the affidavit of registry in the schedule to the Irish Reform Act had these words,—“and that the said premises are *bona fide* of the clear yearly value of not less than ten pounds.” In the affidavits objected to, the word “*yearly*” had been, by some accident, omitted. Objections of this nature had been provided against by the 20th section of the Reform Act.—“And be it enacted, that every such affidavit shall be signed by the barrister or chairman before whom the same shall be taken, and shall be by him delivered to the clerk of the peace, or his deputy, as the case may be, to be filed and kept amongst the records of the county, city, town, or borough; and such barrister is hereby required to take care that such oaths shall be agreeable to the form hereby prescribed, or as near thereto as may be; and *no objection in point of form shall at any time hereafter be allowed to any such oath when signed.*” The committee did not allow the objection. This decision affected 208 votes.

The second class of objections affected 458 voters, whose “cer-

tificates and affidavits of registry were materially defective and illegal." This class was abandoned without a contest or an argument.

The third question raised was respecting 92 freemen, who, in the language of the petition, had been rejected at the poll by the assessor, "on the futile and immaterial pretext that they had been registered within six calendar months previous to the teste of the writ." These men had been registered on the 3rd of March, and were brought to the poll on the 5th of August, the last day of the election, when their party had despaired of success, and would hazard anything for even the semblance of victory. The only ground on which it was pretended that these men were entitled to be placed on the poll was, that they were freemen of right, and that, as such freemen could, before the Reform Act, by 4 Geo. IV, c. 55, sec. 32, vote at any time after their admission, they were not deprived of this privilege by any provision of that statute. But, by the Reform Act,* no man has a right to vote till he has been registered in the manner directed by that Act; and then, as to the time at which he can vote after such registration, the 29th section provides, that every person registered at the first sessions after the passing of the Act, should be entitled to vote immediately after such registration; "and that any person who shall, at any time after such first sessions, duly register his vote according to the provisions of this act, shall be entitled to vote at any election to be held by virtue of any writ tested six calendar months *at least* after such registry." Hence no man can now vote,† let him claim the franchise in what manner he will, till he has been registered six calendar months at least previous to the teste of the writ of election. But it did not appear by the certificates that these were freemen of right, as the certificates did not state the rights on which they had been admitted, whether of birth, marriage, service, or *grace especial*. It was admitted by the counsel for the petitioner, that if they were not freemen of right, they could not vote till they had been registered six months. By the cross-examination of Mr. Archer, the only witness called by the petitioners, it appeared that they could not be freemen of right, as that gentleman swore that no right to the freedom by reason of birth, marriage, or service, or of any statute, existed in the corporation. Hence the committee were right, on either ground, in refusing to put these names on the poll.‡

* Section 13.

† There is an exception in the statute with regard to Trinity College.

‡ The Tory party had twice admitted, by their own practice, that freemen could not vote till six months registered, as they had many such freemen at the two preceding elections, but did not attempt to poll them.

We may here remark, that since the passing of the Reform Act, the corporations of Dublin, Youghal, and some other places, which had never before admitted men to the freedom on the ground of right by birth, marriage, or service, have been since in the habit of admitting them on these pretended rights. This was distinctly proved on the investigation of the Dublin and Youghal petitions. Those corporations had never before recognized a right in any body to the freedom, and had exercised an absolute discretion of admitting or rejecting at will. All the freemen of those corporations were consequently honorary freemen, who seem to be distinctly defined by the 9th section of the Reform Act as persons not having a right to the freedom, "by reason of birth, marriage, or service, or of any statute now in force." By a clause in that section it was provided "that no persons, who since the 30th day of March, 1831, have been, or hereafter shall be, admitted as honorary freemen, shall be entitled, by virtue of such admission, to vote or register as freemen under this Act."* By this proviso, every freeman of those corporations admitted since the 30th of March, 1831, was disqualified from voting for a Member of Parliament. To defeat this enactment those corporations have been since in the habit of admitting freemen on the pretended rights of birth, marriage, or service. No less than one thousand freemen, according to the evidence of Mr. Archer, have been admitted on these collusive grounds by the Dublin corporation since the passing of the Reform Act.† The importance of striking off these fraudulent votes may be estimated from the following classification of the electors, who polled for the rival candidates:—

*O'Connell and Hutton.**Hamilton and West.*

1590 Freeholders & Leaseholders	1065 Freeholders & Leaseholders
1830 Householdors	652 Householdors
136 Freemen	1750 Freemen‡

* See the entire section in page 137, *post*.

† From 1831 to the middle of 1837, 866 freemen passed the corporation; of these only four voted for Mr. O'Connell, and two plumped for Mr. Hutton. At the election in January 1835, Mr. O'Connell and his colleague were returned by a majority of upwards of 220. The corporation immediately set about creating freemen. In the four preceding years there had been only 123 admitted. In 1835 and 1836 no less than 424 were admitted. The manufacture is progressively increasing, as we find 223 admitted at the single assembly at Michaelmas last.

‡ This table may not be perfectly accurate, in consequence of double registries, splitting of votes, &c., but it may be relied on as being in the main correct. These relative numbers have been frequently noticed in the public papers. The Conservative candidates have attempted to meet the inference, which is obviously deducible from them, by shewing that they have had a majority of barristers, attorneys, and doctors. In the above list we have not included the 92 freemen whose votes were objected to.

The only mode of removing the names of these freemen from the list of parliamentary electors is by an appeal to a Committee of the House of Commons.* Those honorary freemen who may seek to register, henceforward, should be opposed before the revising barrister. If he should admit their claims, an appeal should be made to a Committee of the House. If he should reject them, the honorary freemen could appeal to the judges, and then the question might be fairly and satisfactorily considered.

The fourth class of objections was against certain voters, who, it was alleged, were in arrear for more than one half year's amount of paving rate. This objection was founded on the oath given in the schedule to the Reform Act, which every voter must take, *if required on behalf of a candidate*, to the effect, among other things, that "not more than one half year's grand jury or municipal cesses, rates, and taxes, are now due and payable by me in respect of the premises in this certificate mentioned." The petitioners contended that by this oath it was implied that the elector who had not paid his rates should be disqualified from voting, though the rates had not been demanded. It is needless to remark how unjust it would be to disfranchise a man for the non-payment of a rate, of the existence of which he might have been ignorant. We will not occupy our readers' time with many arguments on this subject, but merely show the law and practice in analogous cases in England. Scot and lot voters are by the English reform Act left in the same position in which they were before by the common law, except that they are obliged to register. The term (scot and lot voter) according to one of the most approved writers on the law of elections,† "at present, when employed to define a right of election, means *only the payment* by a parishioner of the sum to which he is assessed on the rate."‡ The only qualification of a scot and lot voter is, therefore, the payment of the rates to which he is assessed. By the English Reform Act, the returning officer shall, *if required* on behalf of any candidate, put three questions§ to the voters at the poll, which are similar in substance to the oath in the Irish Act. The third question is, "Have you the same qualification for which your name was originally inserted in the register of voters

* The only objection to this course is that the Liberals could not succeed without opening the registry.

† Rogers, p. 168.

‡ We copy the italics from the original.

§ The first question is as to identity, the second as to whether he has polled before at that election. The oath in the Irish Reform Act is, "I, A. B. do swear, that I am the same whose name appears registered in the certificate or affidavit now produced: and that my qualification as such registered voter still continues: and that I have not before voted at this election: and (in the cases of householders in cities, towns, and boroughs) that not more than one half year's, &c." as above.

now in force for the county of, or for the city of, &c.” This question, when put to a scot and lot voter, is an enquiry whether he has paid up all the rates to which he has been assessed; as, to be qualified to register, or to vote, he must have paid up *all* his rates. Yet no committee of any complexion will now strike off such voters, unless it is proved that the rate has been demanded and refused, a subsequent non-payment being held to amount to a refusal. It is now the settled law that a demand must be proved. Thus in English cases, where the payment of the rate assessed is the sole qualification, and where the same question *may* be put, as *may* be put in Irish cases, a demand for the rate must be made before a man can be disqualified for the non-payment: while in the present case, where the rating was only accidental to the qualification,* and where but for the oath the payment of the rates could not be even implied to be a necessary precedent to the exercise of the franchise,† it was sought to disqualify without a demand. The committee decided that a demand was necessary. The petitioners on this gave up the class, which embraced about seventy-five votes. They had previously failed in several cases in this class to prove even non-payment; and in the case in which the committee came to the above resolution, the voter was not in arrear for more than half a year’s rate. The committee of last year held that a demand was not necessary.

It has been determined by two committees during the present session, of one of which Sir Robert Peel was chairman, that an enquiry could not be instituted before them as to the non-payment of rates, if the third question had not been put to the voter at the poll. Arguing from analogy we should conclude that, unless the oath were put to the Irish voters, there could not be any enquiry afterwards on the same subject.—But when can Irishmen expect strict justice?

The sixth class of objections involved the question whether the “rate or rent for the supply of pipe-water” was a municipal rate within the meaning of that word in the Reform Act. The witnesses, who were called by the petitioners, proved, on cross-examination, that the “rate or rent” was payable not prospectively,

* It not being necessary for householders in Ireland to be assessed to any rates or taxes.

† By the fifth section of the Reform Act, £10 householders cannot register if they be in arrears for more than six months’ taxes. But there is no clause in the body of the act requiring that they should pay the rates which become due between the registration and the election. The law is the same with regard to £10 householders as in England. They must have paid up all the rates due before the 6th of April in each year to be entitled to register; but are not required to pay those which become due between the registration and the election.

but in reference to the supply of water antecedently furnished; that there were several parts of the city, in which pipes or mains were not laid down, and that though the corporation had power to lay them down in every street, they could not compel the inhabitants to take the water, or to pay for it if they did not take it. To show the light in which the corporation itself viewed this "rate or rent," we need only refer to the 42 Geo. III, c. 92, the Act under which this "rate or rent" is now collected. The words employed throughout that enactment to express the charge for the supply of pipe-water are, "rates or rents." In the 3d section, the corporation are empowered "to take the following annual rates or rents *for the supply of pipe-water.*" By the 4th and 5th sections, they are empowered "to contract and agree with brewers," distillers and others, "for an annual rate or rent for the pipe-water consumed and used by them in their several and respective trades, occupations and manufactures; *such annual rate* to be over and above, and in addition to, the annual rate or rent herein directed to be *paid* for each and every dwelling house." Here they call the price agreed on by the brewers and others "a rate," without adding the word "rent," thus showing that they used it simply in its most ordinary acceptation, (particularly in Ireland) to express a sum fixed and determined. In the 8th section, an agreement entered into between the corporation and the subscribers to the Grand Canal is recited in the following words:—"Resolved, that it be agreed on between the subscribers to the Grand Canal and the City of Dublin, that in consideration of the subscribers supplying the city with such a quantity of water, hereafter to be ascertained, as shall amply supply the several inhabitants thereof, the city shall pay to the subscribers ten per cent. upon the gross produce of the revenue that shall arise to the city *from the sale of the said water*: the payment of the said ten per cent. not to commence till the first day of May one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six," &c. &c. The 10th section provides that, if any one "liable or subject to pay any such annual rate or rent" should neglect or refuse to do so, the corporation should be empowered to "cut or turn off the water, by drawing the ferule or ferules out of the mains or pipes," and to make a distress under a warrant from a justice; and "if such annual rate or rent *so due and owing*" should not be paid within five days, to sell the goods so distrained. The committee held that this was not a municipal tax. On this decision, which affected about eighty-five votes, being announced, the petitioners withdrew from the contest. The committee of last year decided that the pipe-water "rate or rent" was a municipal tax. This question, and that as to the necessity of demanding the rate, were the only two, on which the late committee

differed from the former. The propriety of the late decisions has not, we believe, been questioned by any lawyer of eminence at either bar.

Let those, who have been accustomed to the vauntings of the Tory party as to the certainty of their success on this petition, and who have perhaps read that document in which they charged the Liberal candidates with treating, bribery, corruption, the illegal influencing of voters through the officers and dependents of the Crown, and "the most flagrant acts of intimidation," consider that when the time for investigating these charges had arrived, there was not a syllable said about them. Let them then look at the five subjects which were thought worthy of being brought before the notice of the committee. There they will find in the two first classes, on which the petitioners must have principally relied, 666 voters objected to on mere verbal quibbles; in the third class, ninety-two sought to be placed on the poll, who had no imaginable right to the exercise of the franchise; in the fourth; seventy-five sought to be struck off for not having paid a rate, which had never been asked of them, and of the existence of which they might have been ignorant; and in the fifth, eighty-five for not paying a private debt, for "rent," between them and a company that supplied them with water.

We now come to those cases in which the petitioners obtained majorities of Tories on the committees. These were the Belfast, Youghal, Kinsale, Waterford, and Westmeath. The conduct pursued by these should be a warning to the Reformers of the kingdom, and should be for ever a proof of the accuracy of judgment with which the Spottiswoode "gang" calculated on the moral feelings and *political bias* of the Conservative members of the legislature. That the members of those Tory committees had feelings somewhat sympathetic and congenial with those of the Spottiswoode committee on the subject of Irish elections, and the amount of justice which should be meted out to the "aliens," is what the proceedings before them force us irresistibly to believe. It was a remarkable feature in those tribunals, that while they saw their own friends succeeding by the ordinary course of affairs, they observed a most decorous regard for impartiality. But when they perceived them in a strait, or that matters had reached such a crisis that the farther extension of fair play would endanger the issue, it was then they became impervious to argument, and showed how well they deserved the generous confidence of the Spottiswoode confederators. We beg leave, however, to do the Belfast committee the justice of saying that *they* exhibited no symptoms of this contemptible hypocrisy, and that they did not leave it in the power of their most malignant enemies to hint that they were not a true and genuine specimen of

the real Tory committee. It was on the obtaining of such committees that the Spottiswoode "gang" had calculated, according to the experience of preceding sessions. Had they obtained them, how delightful to Tories would have been the result!

This committee, consisting of ten Tories and one Liberal, exhibited from the very outset its "political bias," by deciding even the most trifling question in favour of the petitioners. They opened the registry by instinct; as, after they had heard the counsel for the sitting member argue against their power to do so, when the counsel for the petitioners rose, they told him, before he had delivered a sentence, that he need not proceed, as they were satisfied that they had the power to open the registry. They received certain Police Valuation books in corroborative evidence of the value of some voters' houses, without a tittle of evidence to explain on what principle the valuation had been made; whether on the rack-rental, or only on a certain proportion of the rack-rental. The petitioners had three of the valuations in attendance, unknown to the opposite party; but aware of the nature of their evidence, and of the *bias* of the committee, they did not produce them. After they had been giving those books in evidence for some days, they called one of the valuers to speak on another subject. In his cross-examination he said, that the valuations of the houses in the Police books were made only from external appearance, as the valuers were not authorized to enter the houses; and that they were moreover in the habit of allowing the tenant the benefit of a reduction of one or two pounds on a house worth £10. The committee struck off the names of several voters in cases in which the petitioners' witnesses swore that the houses were worth *no more* than £9 or £9. 9s. and other witnesses, equally respectable, swore that they were fully worth £10, and more.*

To enumerate all the judicial enormities of this committee, would occupy more space than we can allot to them; but we cannot pass by, without notice, the decisions on the respective qualifications of Mr. Gibson and Mr. Emerson Tennent.

* It would appear (see *Morning Chronicle*, July 14th) that 13 of the Votes struck off by this Committee, have been re-registered without any opposition—"Let us take a sample of those cases. *The vote of a person named M'Avoy was struck off in London for want of value.* One of the witnesses produced against the voter said, "I collected the rent; he (M'Avoy) paid me £9; in my opinion, it is above the rent; £7 10s. or £8 is full value—rather a high rent." Another witness testified as follows: "Value £8 per annum." And another: "I thing the utmost value would be from £8 to £8 8s." Such was the London testimony; and, of course, the committee would pay no attention to any rebutting evidence. Well, the witnesses who testified as above were surely produced at the registry!! *Not one of them, although M'Avoy called upon the Tory agent to produce them, if he durst! He submitted his receipts for the payment of rent, which showed that he paid at the rate of fifteen guineas a-year, instead of £9. He is rated in the police books for £10, and the ground alone on which his house is built would bring £10 a year.*"

By the 9th Anne, c. 5, sec. 1, no person can sit in the House of Commons for a borough, "who shall not have an estate, freehold or copyhold, for his own life, or some greater estate in law or equity," to the amount of £300 a-year above reprises. Mr. Gibson's qualification arose out of certain lands to the value of £150 a-year, held on a lease for three lives, renewable for ever, among which was his own life; and of certain other lands, of the value of £278. 15s. 4½d. held on the same sort of tenure, but that his own life was not one of those mentioned in the lease.* The value of the property was admitted, and also, that the first-mentioned tenure was such as would qualify, if sufficient in amount. But it was contended that, as Mr. Gibson's own life was not one of those mentioned in the lease on which the other lands were held; these were not "an estate for his own life, or some greater estate." The covenant on which this property depended, was to the effect, that Mr. Gibson should hold the lands for the three lives named in the lease, and *during such farther and other life, and lives, as should for ever thereafter be added thereunto, pursuant to the covenants therein contained.* It has been always allowed, that such lease conveyed a freehold estate, not only for the lives therein mentioned, but for ever, as the lessees could insert fresh lives, according as the subsisting ones dropped. In the present case, there were reciprocal clauses compelling Mr. Gibson to accept the renewal at the rents and covenants agreed on, and the lessor to grant it on the same conditions. If any of the lives should fall before Mr. Gibson, he could at once insert his own life, and then there would be no objection to his qualification. But we will not inflict a treatise on the law of leases for lives renewable for ever on our readers; and shall, therefore, merely say, that it was admitted on all hands—no lawyer could dispute it—that so long as Mr. Gibson paid the rents, and performed the covenants agreed on in the lease, no power could deprive him of the property to the end of time; and that it was, while the conditions were performed, a freehold estate in perpetuity as indefeasible as any in the kingdom. But the committee decided, that this was not an estate for Mr. Gibson's own life; on the presumption, we suppose, that he would refuse to perform the conditions which secured him an independence.

The committee then struck off between sixty and seventy votes which had been given for Mr. Gibson on the two last days of the election, though there was no proof offered that any one of these

* Mr. Gibson held different other properties on ordinary leases for lives and terms of years, to which we have not above alluded, as they were not of a nature to qualify under the statute.

voters had received notice of that gentleman's alleged want of qualification.

The particulars of Mr. Emerson Tennent's qualification, were delivered in on the 20th December, 1837. The election took place in August. He claimed to qualify out of estates in Fermanagh and Sligo, of the annual value of £1,066. 17s. 6d. The following are the facts respecting this property, as detailed before the committee. Mrs. Tennent was declared heiress-at-law in 1834 by the Court of Chancery, to all her father's real property, consisting of the above-mentioned estates, subject to trust-settlements made by her father. By one of these he had secured to her an annuity of £200 a-year, for her sole and separate use, and not to be subject to the controul or debts of her husband; and to be payable to her children for ever—or to her father's heirs, if she should leave no issue. By the other settlement, he secured an annuity of £100 to another daughter, now Mrs. Thompson Tennent, on the same conditions. These settlements affected the Fermanagh property only. The Court of Chancery, at the time of declaring her heiress-at-law, appointed a receiver to pay into court the rent, amounting to £91. 14s. 9d., of two sub-divisions of this property, called Ballinamona and Cairns, to form a fund for the compensation of disappointed devisees, under a will of Mrs. E. Tennent's father, which it had set aside. Mrs. E. Tennent afterwards conveyed the lands in fee to her husband.

It appeared by the evidence, that the annual rental payable to Mr. Emerson Tennent out of the Fermanagh property, up to November last, was only £351. subject to the above annuities; and that the rental of the Sligo property to the same date, was only £453. 8s. 6d., subject also to the payment of £376. 8s. 6d., the interest at 4½ per cent., on a mortgage debt of £8360. Adding these several sums, we find that Mr. E. Tennent's income, "clear above reprises," was, at the time when, as the committee reported, he "was duly elected, and ought to have been returned" as follows:—

Fermanagh estates	.	.	£351	0	0	
Annuity to Mrs. E. Tennent	£200					
— Mrs. Thompson						
Tennent	.	100				
			300	0	0	
Clear income	.					51 0 0
Sligo estates	.	.	453	8	6	
Interest on mortgage	.	.	376	8	6	
Clear income	.	.				77 0 0
Total income	.	.				£128 0 0

Such being his income at the time of the election, and up to the 20th of December, we shall call attention to the words of the statute, to which we have alluded. After providing that the representative shall have a freehold or copyhold estate, in law or equity, of the annual value of £300 (for a borough) above reprises for his own use and benefit, it enacts, "that if any person who shall be elected or returned to serve in Parliament as a knight, &c. &c. shall not, *at the time of such election and return*, be seized of or entitled to such an estate in lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as for such knight, or citizen, burgess, or baron respectively, is hereinbefore required or limited, *such election and return shall be void.*"

The committee did not deem themselves bound by these provisions, and therefore took into consideration what was stated to be the value long after "*the time of such election and return.*" The facts relied on for Mr. Tennent, were as follows:—On the 5th January last, he executed a lease of two townlands of the Fermanagh estate, which were then held by some tenants under *unexpired leases for lives* at £112 a-year, to Mr. Adams, his agent, and the receiver of the property, at the rent of £200 a-year, from the 1st of November, 1837. Mr. Adams got possession of only seventeen acres. Part of the Sligo estate had also been let at an increased rent, some time previous to the assembling of the committee, by a letter from Mr. E. Tennent in answer to a proposal. Neither document was produced, and the former tenants were still in possession. The petitioners also went into a mass of evidence, to show what those lands *would be worth** if the present leases had expired; and thus, they made out the following result:—

		£	s.	d.
Fermanagh estate under Adams's lease,	.	507	9	11
Sligo estate, (<i>value</i> and new lettings)	.	559	17	7
Deduct		1,066 17 6		
Annuity to Mrs. E. Tennent	£200 0 0			
— Mrs. T. Tennent	100 0 0			
Interest on mortgage	376 8 6	676	8	6
Clear income		£390	9	0

Unfortunately, however, while the committee were deliberating, they called in Mr. Adams, in the absence of counsel and agents, and he informed them, that Ballinamona and Cairns were included in the Fermanagh property. Consequently, as that rent

* The value of the lands above the rent belonged to the Lessees and not to Mr. Tennent, since they held for unexpired lives which he might not survive; he could not therefore avail himself of this contingent future interest to increase his present rental.

(£91. 14s. 9d.) was paid into Chancery, it should be deducted out of the above calculation. This would leave Mr. Tennent, on his own showing, an income of only £298. 14s. 3d. The committee decided, that he "*is* duly qualified." We need scarcely add, that they returned the two Conservative candidates.

In the Youghal case, the committee consisted of six Tories and five Liberals. They exhibited a greater degree of impartiality and of respect for the forms at least of justice, than any other Tory (Irish) committee of the session. They, of course, opened the registry. On the question of the freemen, they also decided as Tories should. It was proved, that before the Reform Act, no one was admitted to the freedom, by any right of birth, marriage or service, but that since that time, the corporation was in the habit of admitting them on these fictitious grounds, lest they should come under the denomination of honorary freemen. The committee overcame the difficulty by a rather queer resolution,—“that persons admitted to the freedom of the Borough of Youghal by right of birth, marriage, or service, were not honorary freemen, and were consequently entitled to vote.” Thus they avoided the real question as to whether any one was admitted by right of birth, marriage or service, and gained their real object—to keep the freemen on the poll. In this decorous manner they were proceeding, slowly but surely, to return Mr. Nichol for that borough, till at length, having struck off two freemen, (one, who had been admitted as the eldest son of a freeman, on proof that he was not the eldest son; the other, who had been admitted on the like ground, on proof that many years before his admission, his father had resigned his freedom by deed) these two decisions were regarded as so fatal to the petitioner's case, that the counsel immediately afterwards informed the committee, that in consequence of the decisions as to the rights of those freemen, they had been instructed to retire from the contest.

Into a minute detail of the proceedings before the Kinsale committee,* it would be useless to enter. To convey some idea of their mode of administering justice, we will give the particulars of two cases, and the decisions arrived at by those infallible arbiters of “the noblest birthright of a British subject,” whose rectitude of intention it would be *reprimandable* to question.

Edward Bishop was objected to by the counsel for the sitting member on the ground, that he did not hold or occupy any premises to entitle him to register or vote. It appeared, that the house out of which he registered, had been held by his father on a lease for ninety-nine years, provided three lives should so long live, renewable, on the failure of a life, for ninety-nine years, if the

* Seven Tories and 4 Liberals.

three then subsisting lives should so long live. The father of the voter died intestate on the 12th of June, 1832, leaving a widow, a son (the voter,) and two daughters. On the 26th October following, the voter registered, the affidavit of registry stating that he had been for four months in possession and occupation of a house, which had come to him by succession on the death of his father. He did not take out letters of administration before the 7th of April, 1835. The house was worth £30. but was not worth £40 a year.

It was not, it could not be denied, that the voter was wrong in claiming this house by succession, as it was a chattel, not a freehold property, being held for a term of years, dependent on certain contingencies. He therefore had no title to register as heir. Neither had he a title to register in any other character in 1832, as he did not administer till 1835. On these grounds he was clearly disqualified as to title. Then as to value; to one-third of the value of the house his mother was entitled. The remaining two-thirds were divisible between him and his two sisters. This would not leave each of them £9 a year; consequently on no ground had he the least title to the exercise of the franchise. At the period of the proceedings, when this vote was under consideration, the general case between the sitting member and his Conservative opponent had reached that critical position, at which fair-play would endanger the success of the latter. Was it on that account that the committee resolved, "that the vote be allowed"? We heard it whispered—but of course we cannot vouch for it—that the ground on which the vote was decided, was that it was absurd to suppose, that so good a house should give no vote to any one; and therefore as the mother and sister *could* not vote, it was to be *presumed* that they had *assigned* their interests to the only male in the family. It is needless to say there was no evidence of any such assignment.

William Warren was objected to by the counsel for the sitting member, on the ground that he had been admitted an honorary freeman after the 30th March, 1831,—and that he was therefore debarred from the exercise of the parliamentary franchise, by the proviso in the ninth section of the Reform Act.

To prevent doubts as to the obvious violation of justice committed in this case, we lay before our readers the entire of the ninth section:

"Provided always and be it enacted, That all freemen, freeholders, and persons who by reason of any corporate or other right, are now by law entitled to vote at the election of a member or members to serve in Parliament for any city, town or borough, and all persons, who by

reason of birth, marriage or service, or of any statute now in force, shall be at any time hereafter admitted to their freedom in any city, town or borough, sending a member or members to Parliament, shall after such registration as is directed by this Act, but so long only as they shall reside within the said city, town or borough, or within seven statute miles of the usual place of election therein, have and enjoy such right of voting as fully and in like manner, as if this Act had not been passed. Provided farther, That no persons, who since the thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, have been, or shall hereafter be, admitted as honorary freemen, shall be entitled by virtue of such admission to vote or register as freemen under this Act."

The case against Warren was as follows: It was proved by the nature of the charter, and by the evidence of the officers of the corporation of Kinsale, that in that borough, no person had a right to be admitted a freeman, "by reason of birth, marriage or service, or of any statute now in force," but that admissions were granted solely by the will and favour of the corporation. Warren and all the other freemen of the borough were consequently of that class, which are designated, in the proviso, honorary freemen; as distinguished from those who obtain their freedom by "reason of birth, marriage or service, or of some statute now in force." At a council held on the 13th of August 1824,—“it was ordered that he, William Warren, Esq.,” with several others “all of the town of Kinsale, shall be admitted and sworn freemen at the next or any future court of D'Oyer Hundred, to be held for the same, at which they shall appear.” He was not “admitted” a freeman by this order of council,—it merely gave him a right to be admitted at any future court, at which he should appear. This right he retained for seven years only, as after that period he could not, by the 33 Geo. III. c. 38, sue out a writ to enforce his admission. The seven years for enforcing his right expired on the 12th of August 1831. After that day, he had ceased to have a right of admission by virtue of the order in council of 1824,—and he never had a right of admission “by reason of birth, marriage or service, or of some statute.” It was not before the 12th of September 1832, that he appeared at the Court of D'Oyer Hundred, and was admitted and sworn a freeman. He was therefore, in all respects admitted as an honorary freeman after the 30th of March 1831, and was consequently disqualified from voting. This conclusion was so obvious, or rather inevitable, that there was not a body of men in the kingdom, who could evade it, and come to the resolution, “that the vote of William Warren be allowed,” except the Tory majority of an election committee, under the influence of some extravagant delusion, or of — *political bias*.

On the discussion of this vote, it appeared that the twelve judges in Ireland had decided this very question against the vote, overruling the decision of the revising barrister, which had been in its favour. An application to have this question reargued was made on the following day, by reason of its importance to the parties, and as a decision in the very teeth of that of the twelve judges; but it was rejected: for preposterous, indeed, was it to expect, that the committee could afford to reconsider such a question, or to give way to any authority whatever, at such a critical conjuncture of the proceedings, when even one case decided fairly by inadvertence, might deprive them of the object of all their labours—the return of their own political partisan. The counsel for the sitting member finding their arguments unavailing, gave up the contest, and allowed Colonel Henry Thomas to take his seat for Kinsale, as the representative of his congenial Tory committee.

The Waterford committee, consisting of eight Tories and three Liberals, differed so widely from the Newry, that it allowed the petitioner to proceed with the examination of a witness on the charge against the sitting member, without producing even an authenticated list of the voters, much less an affidavit or certificate. Finding, however, that the witness stated that he had polled on a particular day, they reconsidered the question, and determined that the poll-books, at least, should be produced. The poll-books, on being produced, not appearing to have been properly authenticated, the committee adjourned for some days, to send for the officer who should have authenticated them. The only point relied on against the sitting member, was a charge of bribery and corruption. This was as beautifully fabricated a story as could have been desired. Mr. Barron was accused of having induced a Protestant elector to vote “against his own Church,” by “divers sums of money, and other gifts and rewards.” A priest was, of course, introduced into the tale. He was present when the promises of money were made, when the poor Protestant voter polled “against his own Church,” and when some of the money was afterwards paid, in part performance of this nefarious contract. We believe that few of our readers will doubt but that the priest was introduced as often as he ought to be, in order to give a real interest and gusto to the fiction. Had the witnesses been sufficiently conscience-hardened, the charge would have been satisfactorily proved, and three objects, at least, would be gained: a Tory would replace a Liberal; the latter would be convicted of having practised those arts of corruption which he had repeatedly denounced; and a priest— a priest!—would be exhibited as the abettor, or rather the pro-

moter, of his iniquity. The first and second witnesses went through their parts so well, that the committee seemed perfectly satisfied of the guilt of the accused;—but the third was forced to confess, in the course of his cross-examination, that he was to get £40 “*if he should prove the charge against Mr. Barron;*” that the first witness was to receive something between £20 and £30; and that the second was also to be paid he knew not how much. We need hardly say, that the charge against Mr. Barron was instantly abandoned.

In the Westmeath case, the majorities proposed to be cut down are actually more than double the entire numbers polled for the Tory candidate. The latter never expected to succeed in being returned, but merely to overwhelm their opponents with the costs of a protracted inquiry, if they should get a Tory committee. The complexion of the committee which they have got will not damp their anticipations. It opened the registry. It refused a commission to hear the evidence in this country. After the lapse of ten days, finding that it had not disposed of more than two cases, the first of which it had been obliged to decide against the petitioners, it became alarmed for the loss of its own time,—not being paid for attendance,—and hastily granted a commission, the suggestion having first come from one of its own members. Of the words “beneficial value,” as used in the Irish Reform Act with regard to voters in counties, there have been two interpretations; one favourable, the other adverse, to the extension of the franchise. It, of course, adopted the latter.*

* The following is the decision of the committee:—“Resolved, That the value of the qualification which entitles a party to register and to vote as a freeholder in a county at large in Ireland, under the 2 and 3 William IV, c. 88, is the same as was prescribed in the case of a freeholder in the 10 Geo. IV, c. 8; and, therefore, that the criterion of value is what a solvent and responsible tenant can fairly, and without collusion, afford to give as an additional rent, over and above the rent and charges payable in respect of such qualifications.” The 10 Geo. IV, c. 8, commences with disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, and repealing some acts relating to them; and then provides, that “Whereas it is expedient to increase the amount of qualification necessary to entitle persons to vote at” elections for counties at large, no person should be entitled to vote, unless he should “have an estate of freehold, in lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in such county, of the clear yearly value of £10, at the least, over and above all rents and charges, except only public or parliamentary taxes, county, Church, or parish cesses or rates, and cesses on any townland, or division of any parish or barony.” Contrast with this the Reform Act. “Whereas it is expedient to extend the elective franchise to many of His Majesty’s subjects in Ireland who have not heretofore enjoyed the same, to increase the number of representatives, &c., and to diminish the expenses of elections therein, Be it enacted, by and with, &c., that, in addition to the persons now by law qualified to vote at the elections of knights of the shire, &c., every male person of full age, &c., who shall be entitled, either as lessee or assignee, to any lands or tenements, whether freehold or of any other tenure whatever, for the unexpired residue, &c. &c., and have a *beneficial interest* therein, of the clear yearly value of not less than £10, over and above all rents and charges, &c. shall be entitled,” &c. &c. Can any one fail to see that

What it will do on the return of the commission, we will not attempt to anticipate.

This closes the list of the Spottiswoode election petitions. The result appears briefly thus:—of the cases brought before committees, the Liberals failed in two, the Conservatives in nine; the former succeeded in one, the latter in two; the former gained one seat, the latter gained three.

We confess we feel rather sanguine as to the moral effect of the general result of these petitions on the feelings of the British nation. Englishmen will see in these petitions, and their fate, a shadowing of that system of misrepresentation by which their prejudices against Irishmen have been hitherto kept alive. They will recollect, that during all last autumn and winter they were continually excited by the tales of the atrocities committed at the Irish elections; and that they were solemnly assured, that the great majority of the Liberal members had secured their returns by every species of intimidation, corruption, and personation of voters, by the illegal influence of the officers of the crown, and the spiritual despotism of the priests. Englishmen will not forget, that it was on the supposed truth of these charges they were induced to contribute to the *Sacred Fund*: but when the time for investigating them had arrived, they find them all to be the fictions of a gang of political and professional adventurers, who contrived to swindle them out of their money on these false and fraudulent pretences. They find all the tales that excited their indignation, to be—lies, and the only one submitted to investigation (and that for very shame's sake), to be a lie, aggravated by subornation of perjury.

Regarding this gang as but a minute section of the Tory party, acting for a limited period, and on a small scale, they will begin to see, that as it misrepresented and swindled for a season, so had the entire faction for centuries. They will learn to estimate the truth of those charges, by which they have been induced for ages to bestow their treasures on that faction that has ever misrepres-

the words "beneficial interest" were added to the "clear yearly value" of the former statute, for the purpose of enlarging the sense in which these had been interpreted? As the Reform Act confers the franchise on species of tenures that had never before enjoyed it; so it also, in some degree, qualifies the amount required by the former enactment. "Beneficial interest" obviously means, such an interest as consists of the conveniences, the advantages, the uses, the profits, the *benefits*, which a man derives, in every way, from the possession of a farm. We may farther observe, that it is commonly thought that a freeholder must have a clear interest of £10, above all charges. But it is sufficient if he have such an interest as, combined with the amount of cesses, rates, and taxes, of all kinds, will make up the sum of £10. As, for instance, if the cesses, rates, and taxes, amount to £3, and if he have above them a clear interest of £7, that is a sufficient qualification. See 10th section of the Reform Act.

sented Ireland, that it might be at liberty to oppress and degrade her. They will learn to divest themselves of their prejudices against our country, and to try her, at least, before they condemn her. As Irishmen, we desire no more, knowing that there never has been a Tory imputation against her, which, when, like the Spottiswoode fictions, it comes to be investigated, will not be found to be a falsehood.

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- ART. VII.—1. *The Life of Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland.* By Lieutenant-Colonel J. Mitchell. London. 1837.
2. *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, von Schiller. (*History of the Thirty Years' War*, by Schiller.)
3. *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges in Deutschland*, von K. A. Menzel. Breslau. 1835, 1837-8. (*History of the Thirty Years' War in Germany*, by K. A. Menzel.)
4. *Albrechts von Wallenstein des Herzog von Friedland und Mecklenburg ungedruckte, eigenhändige Briefe* herausgegeben von F. Færster. Berlin. 1828, 1829. (*Autograph and inedited Letters of Albert de Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland and Mecklenbourg*, published by F. Færster, Berlin.)
5. *Ungedruckte Briefe Albrecht von Wallenstein, und Gustav Adolfs*, herausgegeben von E. G. Zober. Stralsund. 1830. (*Inedited Letters of Albert de Wallenstein, and of Gustavus Adolphus*, published by E. G. Zober.)
6. *Wallenstein, Herzog zu Mecklenburg, Friedland und Sagan als Feldherr und Landesfürst.* Eine Biographie von Dr. F. Færster. Potsdam. 1834. (*Wallenstein, Duke of Mecklenbourg, Friedland and Sagan, as a General and Sovereign.* A Biography by Dr. F. Færster.)
7. *De Alberto Waldsteinio, Friedlandiæ Duce proditore.* Commentatio scripsit Rich. Roepell. Halæ. 1834.

THE German empire, which, during many ages, was at the head of the Christian states of Europe, was peculiarly adapted, by its political constitution, to become the arena for that great struggle which was about to take place at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The feudal system had taken too deep root in that country, and received too much support from its elective constitution, to yield to the efforts of such of its emperors as had sought to establish an absolute and hereditary monarchy. Nevertheless, the feudal constitution of the empire had undergone great modifications, and was become a kind of confederation of states, almost independent, and as yet only nominally recog-

nizing the authority of the emperor. These states were composed, in the first place, of the lay principalities, then of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abbeys; and, finally, of the free towns. In many provinces, however, especially in Swabia and Franconia, the second order of nobility, called knights of the empire, still preserved their independence; but to maintain it, they were involved in constant struggles,—on the one hand, with the ecclesiastical and lay princes,—on the other, with the free towns, in whose territories their castles were often situated. The princes, in their turn, found their power checked by the numerous ecclesiastical estates, which still enjoyed the ancient privilege of immunity, and which owned no superior except in a final appeal to the emperors; but to them was allowed no other power than what they derived from the immediate possessions which they held before their election to the throne, and in which they were more or less absolute.

Such was the state of Germany when Luther commenced his attack upon the Catholic Church, by objecting, in the first instance, to some of its dogmas, and afterwards by protesting openly against its whole external constitution. It was this protestation which obtained so favourable a reception in Germany for the doctrines he professed, and which he had borrowed from preceding heretics,—Huss and Wickliff, the Albigenses, and Vaudois. All that remained of spiritual power, the princes of the empire sought to destroy, in order to consolidate their own strength. The lay nobility were tempted by the wealth of the Church; and the relaxation of all religious obligations rapidly multiplied the partisans of the new doctrine. In many countries, as in England, the dogmas of the Church were not at first interfered with; and in Sweden, the people believed themselves to be Catholics for half a century after the introduction of Protestantism.*

It is therefore a mistake to consider the publication of indulgences, and the abuses to which this practice had sometimes given occasion, as having caused the birth and rapid progress of the heresies of the sixteenth century. It is no less an error than it would be to maintain that the tax on tea was the true and only cause of American independence. Another cause has been assigned for the commencement of the Reformation, and is remarked upon as such by the author of the first work in the list at the head of this article,—the great progress, namely, of instruction, and the mass of science which learned laymen began at this period to acquire, and of which, until now, the clergy had been the sole depositories. It has even been added, that the Catholic

* Gejer Geschichte von Schweden, Hamburg, 1834, t. ii. p. 218.

Church made every exertion to stop the diffusion of knowledge ; but these assertions are most distinctly disproved by the acknowledged facts ; for it was Pope Leo X who took under his especial protection that classical literature which was reprobated by so many of the regular clergy, who, not without reason, considered it dangerous, as containing and spreading the principles of paganism.* The same Pope was the first to cause the Hebrew text of the Holy Scriptures to be printed ; and he encouraged the learned Erasmus to publish a Greek edition of the New Testament, with a Latin translation and notes.† In fact, the court of Rome was the true centre of the impulse given to literature and science, and Leo X unhappily incurred many reproaches, by occupying himself more with arts and letters than with the affairs of the Church. While doctrinal questions were discussed by theologians alone, the princes of the empire, the nobles of the second class, and the towns which were anxious to escape from the spiritual authority of the bishops, began to reform the Church after their own method. They suppressed the convents and rich abbeys, seized upon their wealth, and confiscated that of a multitude of pious foundations ; they diminished the number of secular priests,—declared war against the prince-bishops,—and refused thenceforward to recognize their authority either in temporal or spiritual matters.‡ These acts were so many attacks upon the constitution of the empire,—so many violations of public peace,—and so many encroachments upon the rights of the emperor, as supreme head of the state, and suzerain of all the lay and ecclesiastical vassals in the empire. Luther himself greatly encouraged these acts of violence, by his letter addressed “ To the Christian Nobility of Germany,” in which he attacked the whole external constitution of the Catholic Church, and invited the nobles to seize upon all ecclesiastical property, “ with the exception, however, of such foundations as were intended to offer a respectable position in society to the younger branches of the nobility.”§ Some time afterwards he openly recognised in temporal princes,

* K. A. Menzel, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen von der Reformation bis zur Brinidesarte*, Breslau, 1836, t. i. p. 19. The work, which is the third mentioned at the head of the article, is a continuation of the above.

† Menzel, *ibid.* p. 7.

‡ We take this opportunity of recommending to our readers two excellent works, lately published at Vienna, upon the history of the Reformation, one by Ferdinand Buckhals, entitled *History of Ferdinand I*, Vienna, 1832-37, 9 vol. 8vo. ; and the other by K. A. Menzel, from which we have quoted. The author of the first-named work is a Catholic, highly distinguished by his learning.

§ M. Leo, himself a Protestant, and professor of history to the University of Halle, has clearly pointed out the culpable perfidy of this letter, *Vid. Lehrbuch der Universalgeschichte*, Halle, 1838, t. iii. p. 92-96.

a supreme jurisdiction over spiritual matters, and thus completed the establishment of absolute monarchies. The great majority of the people, however, retained their affection for Catholicism; and the new religion was, in many instances, forced upon them by violence or fraud. A gradual change was made in doctrine and in worship by those Catholic priests that embraced the new opinions, or by the Protestant ministers who took the place of such as continued to oppose them; but in many countries the people rose and offered the strongest opposition to this alteration.

By virtue of the ancient laws of the empire, the emperor, Charles V, had declared a public ban against Luther, as an obstinate heretic; but he was by no means anxious to carry the sentence into execution. After the Diet of Worms, assembled in 1521, he returned to Spain, and the war he was carrying on in Italy against Francis I, left him no time to interfere in the affairs of the empire. At length, after an absence of seven years, he returned to Germany, and used every effort to re-establish religious unity by gentle means. He requested the propagators of the new opinions to embody their profession of faith, which he received in a diet convoked by him at Augsburg in 1530. By order of the emperor, Catholic theologians wrote a refutation of the *Confession of Augsburg*; but all attempts to bring back the Protestant princes to the Catholic Church were unavailing. Finding that they were in a minority at the diet, they retired from it, and concluded between themselves the celebrated *Confederation of Schmalkald*, by which they constituted themselves a political body. This act of open opposition to the emperor's authority, was the real beginning of those religious wars which destroyed the prosperity of Germany, and prepared its dissolution. The confederates "undertook to defend each other mutually against any party which should attack them on account of their religion; that none of them should conclude a truce or a peace with their enemies, without the consent of the others; and that all who embraced the new religion should, if they wished it, be received into the confederation."*

Luther himself approved of the Protestants taking arms against the emperor, and declared that it was not an act of rebellion, but of self-defence.† With this, however, the confederates were not satisfied; for they addressed themselves to the kings of France and England, and demanded their aid against the emperor.

* Hortleder Handlungen und Ausschreiben von den Ursachen des Deutschen Krieges, Frank. 1617, t. i. p. 1501.

† Luther, in the letter entitled "A Warning to my dear Germans." Works of Luther, edit. Walch. t. xvi. p. 1950-2062.

Charles was still desirous to use the utmost moderation; and to avoid a civil war he entered into negotiations with the Protestant princes, and came to a sort of compromise with them at Nuremberg (1532), by which the final settlement of all religious differences was postponed to a general council or to a new diet. But on every occasion the Protestants persisted in opposing the decisions of the majority in the diets; they refused to furnish their proportion to the army which the emperor had raised to fight against the Turks; appealed from the jurisdiction of the high court of justice of the empire, established in the reign of Maximilian I; and renewed their alliance with the kings of England and France. At length they took up arms against Duke Henry of Brunswick, one of the most zealous of the Catholic princes, and who was at that time at war with the Protestant inhabitants of the town of Gosslar. They drove him from his duchy—introduced Protestantism throughout the country—and appointed magistrates to maintain it. But even this flagrant violation of the rights of a prince of the empire, could not overcome the emperor's desire of peace; nor was he tempted to more ambitious plans, by his victories over the French in Italy, or by finding himself at the head of a powerful army of Italians and Spaniards, which would have enabled him at once to subdue his enemies. He took a different course. In a diet assembled at Spires in 1544, he endeavoured, by concession, to gain the Protestant party. He gave no decision upon the affairs of Brunswick; but granted to the Protestants a new delay, for the settlement of religious differences, which were to be terminated in the general council, that, at the reiterated request of the emperor,* the Pope had promised to convoke.

Charles still hoped to re-establish religious unity; and to effect this purpose he caused theological discussions to be held betwixt the most eminent professors of the two religions; but all attempts were fruitless. At length the general council, which the Protestants had so earnestly demanded, was convoked, and opened at Trent in 1545; and the emperor invited the Protestant states to send deputies to it. This invitation under different pretexts they refused to accept, thus closing the door upon the last chance of reconciliation with the Catholic Church. They were, in fact, determined not to give up, or alter their opinions, and the emperor became convinced of this at the Diet of Ratisbon, which he convoked in 1546. The principal Protestant leaders refused to appear at it, and such as were present

* Leo admits that this decision of the diet contained all the concessions that could be expected from the emperor. *Handbuch der Universalgeschichte*, t. iii. p. 170.

protested, in the name of the rest, against the acts of the council; the members of the confederation of Schmalkald taking the lead in this resistance to the power of the emperor.

The war of Schmalkald, the first of a long series of religious wars in Germany, arose from political rather than religious grounds. The emperor was obliged to take up arms to prevent his own authority, and that of the general diets of the empire, from being trampled on; and this motive was so decidedly political, that the duke of Saxony, although himself a Protestant, did not hesitate to accept the command of the army with which the emperor was to oppose the members of the confederation of Schmalkald. This war was terminated by a victory gained by the Imperial arms over John Frederick, the electoral prince of Saxony, at Mühlberg. This prince fell into the hands of the conqueror, as did also the landgrave Philip of Hesse.

The Protestant confederation was dissolved, and its members submitted to the emperor, who invested duke Maurice with the electorate of Saxony, of which John Albert was deprived. One town alone still braved his power; the most ardent Protestant leaders, such as Flacrius, Amsdorf, and others, had shut themselves up in Magdeburg, and encouraged the inhabitants to disobey his commands. This town was placed under the ban of the empire, and the execution of the sentence entrusted to the Elector Maurice. A new epoch for Protestantism began with the siege of Magdeburg (1550-1551). Duke Maurice had not sincerely attached himself to the emperor; his alliance with Charles arose not from a sense of duty, but from a view to his personal interest—his cousin, the electoral prince John, had offended him, and the desire of revenge, and the hope of increasing his power, were the true motives of his conduct. After he had been invested with the electorate, he began to fear the Imperial authority, which he had himself re-established; he wished, moreover, to escape from the promise he had made to the emperor, of conforming to the decrees of the council of Trent, and he availed himself of his position, as generalissimo of the imperial troops, to raise the standard of rebellion. After having concluded an alliance with Henry II, king of France, to whom he gave up the three free towns of the empire, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, he took Magdeburg; ratified to the inhabitants their privileges, and marched against Inspruck in the Tyrol, where the emperor lay sick and without troops. Wholly unable to offer any resistance to the friend who betrayed him, Charles negotiated with the rebel, and concluded with him, through the intervention of his brother Ferdinand of Austria, a truce at Passau, which was afterwards confirmed by the religious peace, called the Peace of

Augsburg (1555). This peace may be said to have completed the Reformation in Germany, and the arrangements made at the Diet of Augsburg, may be considered as the basis of the political existence of the Protestant states of the empire. The following are some of its principal articles:—"The different states professing the two religions shall henceforward enjoy perfect liberty of worship, and an entire equality of political rights. Wherever the Protestant religion is established it shall remain, *and each prince shall have a right to introduce it into his states.* Such Catholic princes as will not grant liberty of conscience to their Protestant subjects, shall allow them to emigrate; the appropriation of ecclesiastical property to secular purposes by Protestant princes shall be maintained." To these large concessions to the Protestants, the Catholics added a clause stipulating, "That every bishop or ecclesiastic owing a direct allegiance to the emperor, and forsaking the Catholic religion, should by that act forfeit his dignity and the property attached to it." This clause which was the only protection to the political rights, lawfully acquired by the Catholic Church, and which is known by the name of the *ecclesiastical reservation*, was at first strenuously opposed by the Protestant states; in the end they accepted it; and it became at a later period one of the chief causes of the Thirty Years' War.

The tranquillity of Germany was not disturbed during the latter half of the sixteenth century. But the Reformation had a baneful effect in hastening the dissolution of the empire, and thus bringing about that great catastrophe, which made Germany a desert, and effaced her for a length of time from the rank of first-rate powers.

We shall furnish the clearest insight into the causes of the Thirty Years' War by giving a short account of what took place amongst Catholics and Protestants during the interval of peace. The second article in the peace of Augsburg gave the princes of the empire a right to introduce into their states whatever doctrines or opinions they might think proper; and of this right, called *jus reformandi*, the Protestant states had profited to the utmost. To give one single example. In the Palatinate, the doctrine of Luther and the Protestant worship were introduced by Otho Henry, who suppressed the Catholic religion in 1556; at his death, three years afterwards, in 1559, his successor, Frederic III, introduced the doctrines of Calvin, in place of those of Luther. Louis, who succeeded Frederic in 1576, opposed the Calvinists, drove from the country all ministers who supported that doctrine, and re-established Lutheranism; which was again abolished by the electoral prince, Frederic IV, the son and successor of Louis, who in 1592 compelled the inhabitants of the

Palatinate for the fourth time to change their religion; and each of these changes was accompanied by persecutions and violence done to those who refused to adopt the religious convictions of their princes.*

In every state subject to a Protestant prince the Catholic religion was wholly abolished; all pious foundations, convents, abbeys, and other establishments were suppressed, and their wealth confiscated; nor were the Protestant princes content with seizing such church property as lay in their immediate territories, they possessed themselves of a multitude of bishoprics and abbeys which enjoyed ecclesiastical immunity, and which owned no temporal sovereign but the emperor. When Ferdinand II, in 1629, published his famous edict of restitution, the number of archbishoprics and bishoprics, which, since the peace of Augsburg had fallen into the hands of the Protestants, was no fewer than fourteen, besides numerous abbeys and convents, which had shared the same fate.

While the Catholic religion was thus openly persecuted by the Protestant princes, and almost extirpated in their own dominions, the doctrines of Calvin, Luther, and other reformers, were fast gaining ground in the dominions of Catholic sovereigns. In Bavaria, Austria, and Styria; in the bishoprics of Salzburg, Bamberg, Würzburg, and others, the number of Protestants was increasing yearly. The convents, which had long been relaxing in their discipline, were forsaken by the monks; the secular clergy contracted marriage; and the Protestant faith was openly and freely practised. The nobles in particular hastened to embrace the new opinions; and a contemporary writer, Lazarus Schwendi, who lived about 1590, assures us that in his time, almost all the German nobility in the Catholic, as well as in the Protestant states, had become converts, either openly or in secret, to the new religion.† The Catholic bishops of the empire, and also the dukes of Bavaria, and the emperors Ferdinand I and his successors, Maximilian II and Rodolphe II, practised in the first instance the greatest toleration towards their Protestant subjects. They allowed them communion under both kinds, and almost everywhere the free exercise of their religion. But instead of contenting themselves with these privileges, the Protestant nobility in Austria, Bavaria, and Styria, began to persecute the Catholic clergy, and to use every means in their power for propagating their own opinions, amongst other classes of people. Styria was so completely Protestantized, that when the young duke Ferdi-

* See Menzel *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, tom. iv, v.

† Leo *Handbucher Universalgeschichte*, tom. iii. p. 308, in the note.

nand made his Easter communion at Graetz, his capital, in 1596, there were but three Catholics to be found in the whole town.* Almost all the nobility of Silesia, Lusatia, Moravia, and Bohemia, were Protestants; a majority of the professors at the university of Vienna were Protestants;† and the reformed states of Austria were permitted even in that town to practise their religion freely. The Catholic religion seemed on the point of being extirpated from Germany; it was revived, we will not hesitate to say it, by the zeal of the Society of Jesus, which Providence had evidently called to battle with the new enemies of the Church.‡

There were two obvious methods for arresting the progress of Protestantism: the first was to attack it with the arms of science; the second, to reorganize the education of Catholic youth. The Jesuits used these two means with as much zeal as talent. In a short time their order was filled with learned men, eminent in almost every branch of knowledge, who were called to fill the principal professorships in the Universities of Cologne, of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, and of Prague in Bohemia. The wisdom of their courses of study, and the circumspection with which they regulated their plans of education, soon obtained for them the confidence of Catholic princes, who entrusted them with the education of youth. Jesuit colleges were established in Bavaria, Austria, Styria, and Bohemia, as well as in many of the bishoprics of the empire. It was not long before the Protestants discovered that the Jesuits were their most formidable enemies; at once triumphing over them in the paths of science, and presenting a most striking contrast in their wonderful organization, with the continual divisions and disputes amongst the Protestant sects. Accordingly, persecutions were set on foot against them in Bavaria and Austria; and the Protestant nobility of the latter country succeeded in suppressing several of their colleges, which had been established in the reign of Ferdinand I.

Political opposition was frequently occasioned by the religious disunion between the Protestant subjects and their Catholic princes. Protestant princes had strengthened themselves, by uniting in their own hands both temporal and spiritual power;

* Ranke Geschichte der Roemischen Paebste, tom. ii, p. 402, 403.

† Raupach Evangelisches Oestreich, tom. iii, p. 166, 240, 299.

‡ The accusations brought against the Jesuits have been so often refuted, that we shall not resume the subject. Our readers will no doubt be acquainted with Dalla's excellent history of the Jesuits. It is curious to hear Luther, the author of the Reformation professing a principle which has been falsely attributed to the Jesuits, namely, that we may do evil that good may come; yet this is what the great reformer wrote in 1520 to his friend Lang: "*Nos hic persuasi sumus Papatum esse veri et Germani Antichristi sedem in cujus deceptionem et nequitiam ob salutem animarum nobis omnia licere arbitramur.*"—Menzel neuere Geschichte der Deutschen, tom. iv. p. 55, in the note.

but the Protestant inhabitants of Catholic territories maintained an absolute independence of their princes in all religious matters. The religious bond which united them amongst themselves, served to form them into a political party. "In every state," says a modern Protestant writer, "where the sovereign has remained faithful to the Catholic Church, Protestantism, by favouring the resistance of the nobility to the royal power, had brought about a fusion of political and religious interest; and although this fusion was not always intended by those who took part in it, it was always most inconvenient to the sovereign."* Taking advantage of the financial embarrassments of their princes, the Protestants obtained an extension of their religious privileges; and in the end, as it happened in Austria, Styria, Karinthia, and other Austrian provinces, they excluded the Catholics from the greater number of employments, by introducing Protestant ministers instead of Catholic priests in all churches where there was a right to collect money; and by confiscating the property of the pious establishments founded by their ancestors.† In Styria, they had excluded the Catholics from all employments depending on the state, which were given to Protestants: and the opposition of the Protestant states, as well as the continual struggles resulting from it betwixt them and the Archduke Charles, sovereign of this country, occasioned the premature death of that prince.‡ Protestant ministers, supported by the nobility, preached openly against the Catholic religion, and attacked in the most virulent sermons, the Pope, the Catholic church, and even their princes, whom they represented as idolaters;§ and in many bishoprics and other ecclesiastical principalities, the Protestants, who at first were only tolerated, gained such strength, as to nominate the successors of the Catholic prelates, and to choose them from amongst men who were known to be partizans of the new doctrines, and who openly embraced them on their accession to power.¶ In these circumstances, the Catholic princes were at least excusable, when, finding their political existence at stake, they made use of a power conferred on them by the *Peace of Augsburg*, and which had been vigorously exercised by Protestant sovereigns,—that of allowing the free exercise of only one religion in their dominions. This reaction against Protestantism began to manifest itself in the

* Menzel, loc. cit. t. v. p. 29.

† Address from the Catholic states of Austria to the Archduke Mathias in Khevenhüller, Annals Ferdinand, t. v. pp. 3151-3172.

‡ Menzel, loc. cit. t. v, p. 318.

§ Opitz, a Protestant minister, preached such sermons even at Vienna: Menzel, loc. cit. t. v, pp. 69-70.

¶ This happened at Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Naumburg, Verden, Brèmen, and other bishoprics.

Catholic principalities of the empire towards the close of the sixteenth century.

The free exercise of Protestant worship was suppressed in the bishoprics of Cologne, Munster, Hildersheim, Bamberg, Wurtzburg, and Salzburg, and also in Bavaria; but every where, those who would not give up the free exercise of their religion, were allowed permission to sell their property, and to emigrate. The Emperor Rodolphe II, who in 1576 succeeded his father Maximilian II, did not interfere in the religious disputes of the empire; on the contrary, he carefully avoided raising any such questions in the general diets, and gave his sedulous attention to the physical sciences, mathematics, astrology, and astronomy: he soon began to neglect public business completely, so that Hungary fell into such a state of disorder, that his brother Mathias was obliged, with the consent of the other princes of the family, to constitute himself head of the House of Austria (1606). Rodolphe retained only the government of Bohemia, and the Protestant states of that country obliged him by a royal letter (1609) to guarantee their freedom of religious worship. In the meanwhile, the diet of Ratisbon had alarmed the Protestant princes of the empire, by taking into consideration the numerous infractions of *the ecclesiastical reservation* which had taken place; and at this period (1608) they concluded a new league called "*the Union*," by which they renewed the old confederation of Schmalkald. They resumed their negotiations with the Kings of France and England, and with the Republic of Venice. "The object of this confederation was evidently to overthrow the ancient constitution of Germany, and to oppose the emperor openly;* and if it should be necessary, with the assistance of foreign powers." Two years after this, (in 1610) *the union* entered into an alliance with the King of France, Henry IV, whose object was to overthrow the power of Austria, that he might put himself at the head of the christian republic, which he believed he could form, by uniting all the different European states in one political body. But Germany was saved from foreign dominion by two Catholic princes, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, and his cousin Duke Ferdinand of Styria; the latter was the successor of his father Charles: he had abolished the Protestant worship in his dominions, and recovered his authority, which under the preceding reign the Protestant states had reduced to a mere shadow. Both these princes had been brought up by the Jesuits, and were remarkable for their sincere piety, and for a purity of morals by no means common amongst sovereigns at that period. The character of Maximilian has been

* Leo Handbuch, t. iii, p. 340.

described to us as follows, by Menzel: "This prince laboured with as much wisdom as firmness to consolidate the greatness and power of his country, and by the order which he introduced into his finances, his wise and just government, and his conscientious observance of all his duties, became a model to the age he lived in, of a virtuous and active prince."* The dangerous situation of the empire did not escape Maximilian; he succeeded in forming a confederation of Catholic princes, which took the name of *the League*, and which was constituted to defend the nationality of Germany against the schemes of Henry IV. But just as he was about to attack Germany, King Henry was assassinated; and a peace which was concluded at Munich (1610) between the *Union* and the *League*, preserved the country from the horrors of civil war.

Two years afterwards (1612), the Emperor Rodolphe died, and his brother Mathias succeeded him as emperor and as king of Bohemia. But his efforts were in vain to re-establish peace in the empire, and to put an end to continual discord. The members of the *Union* renewed their association, and thereby forced the Catholic princes, who, at the emperor's desire, had dissolved the *League*, to conclude new alliances amongst themselves. The revolt of the Protestant states of Bohemia—which had exceeded the privileges allowed them by the Emperor Rodolphe's royal letter†—gave the signal for a war that, with few interruptions, lasted for thirty years. The emperor had decided against an arbitrary interpretation of the royal letter; and the Protestants, believing their rights to be in consequence infringed upon, committed great violences against the imperial governors; two of these, Martinitz and Slavata, together with their secretary Fabricius, were thrown from the windows of the Castle of Prague. After this they levied troops, and placed them under the command of the Count de Thurn, one of the chiefs of their party. The Jesuits were accused of troubling the public peace, and banished from the country; and the states, in a long apology, informed the emperor of what had happened. Mathias, who was then sick at Vienna, replied that he would send a person of high

* Menzel loc. cit. t. v, p. 316.—Mitchell's declamations (Life of Wallenstein, pp. 20-21) against Ferdinand of Styria, are proofs of this author's superficial knowledge of history; he is refuted by the almost unanimous testimony of modern Protestant writers, such as Menzel, Leo, and others.

† There is not any doubt as to this fact, for the Archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Braunau had an incontestable right to close those churches which their Protestant subjects had built without their consent at Klostergeral and at Braunau, supposing even that there were any uncertainty in the words of the royal letter. Leo Handbuch, t. iii. p. 354. Mitchell has clearly not understood the subject in dispute (Life of Wallenstein, p. 26).

rank to take cognizance of the affair, and commanded them to disband their troops. Instead of obeying this order, the States increased their army, and marched against those towns that refused to make common cause with them. The emperor, thus compelled to take energetic measures against the rebels, marched troops into Bohemia. But the attention of all Germany had been already excited by the events that had taken place at Prague. The Protestant states of Silesia, Moravia and Austria, did not hesitate to manifest their sympathy with their co-religionists; and the Protestant union sent to their aid a body of 4000 men, commanded by Count Ernest de Mansfeld, an able officer, who had left the Austrian service in disgust, at not being, as he thought, sufficiently rewarded. He took the town of Pilsen, where the inhabitants, who were Catholics, had remained faithful to the emperor. However, the Protestant states of Bohemia, and those of Silesia who joined them, began a fresh negotiation with the emperor, and the electoral prince of Saxony had offered his mediation, when Mathias died (1619), leaving the crown of Bohemia to Duke Ferdinand of Styria, who had already been acknowledged to be his successor by the states of this kingdom,—by those of Hungary, Silesia and Moravia,—and by the princes of the empire. Ferdinand became head of the house of Austria at a most critical moment. Bohemia was in the power of the revolted Protestants; the states of Lusatia, Silesia and Moravia, had joined the rebels; Prince Bethlem Gabor, who governed Transylvania, as a vassal of the Turks, aspired, with the hope of their assistance, to the crown of Hungary; the Protestant states of the Duchy of Austria refused to acknowledge Ferdinand, to whom his cousin Albert, Duke of the Low Countries, had ceded his title to that country,—the Bohemians, profiting by these circumstances, refused all the propositions made to them by their new sovereign; and the Count de Thurn marched against Vienna. But Ferdinand was saved by the heroic firmness with which, despising the threats of the rebels, he refused his consent to the shameful proposals they made to him.

The advance of the imperial general Bourquoi, who had entered Bohemia, forced Thurn to raise the siege of Vienna, and to return to Prague. After the retreat of the enemy, Ferdinand went to Frankfort, where he assumed the crown of Germany, in spite of the protestations of the states of Bohemia, and of the opposition of the electoral prince-palatine, Frederick V, the head of the Protestant union. The unanimity of the other princes in favour of Ferdinand, forced the elector-palatine to give way, and to acknowledge him as emperor. But the courage of Ferdinand was again to be severely tried; the states of Bohemia had deposed

him, in flagrant violation of the laws * of the kingdom, and of the act by which they had themselves recognized him as the successor of Mathias. They had elected in his stead the electoral-prince, Frederick V, who accepted the crown, depending upon receiving assistance from the Protestant union,—from his relatives the sovereigns of England and Denmark,—and also from France. Vienna, besieged a second time by the Count de Thurn and Prince Bethlem Gabor, who had joined their forces under the walls of the town, again owed its safety to the firmness of the emperor, who defended it himself, and forced the allies to raise the siege. Whilst Ferdinand was opposing his enemies with unshaken courage, the electoral-prince, Frederic, who had usurped the throne of Bohemia, wasted his time in festivities, and discontented the Lutheran states of his kingdom by introducing the Calvinistic forms of worship into the cathedral of Prague. Without taking any steps for the defence of the country, he amused himself in displaying the pomp of his rank, as if he had had nothing to fear from such a rival as Ferdinand, who had become his sovereign since his election at Frankfort, and to whom Frederic himself had done homage as a vassal of the empire. He had, in fact, rendered himself guilty of treason, by accepting a crown to which Ferdinand had a double claim, in the first place, as emperor, and in the second, by virtue of that act by which the states of Bohemia had acknowledged him as the successor of Mathias. These facts were so evident, that the greater part of the members of the Protestant union, of which he was himself the head, refused to give him their assistance to defend the throne he had usurped from the emperor.† At the same time, Ferdinand found an ally as faithful as disinterested, in his cousin Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, who had restored the ancient Catholic league, and became again the defender of the constitution of the empire, which, by the revolt of the Bohemians, and the treason of the electoral prince-palatine, was placed in imminent danger of entire dissolution. An army was raised, and placed under the command of John Tserclaes, Baron de Tilly, a Belgian by birth, and an experienced general. As many modern authors, and amongst the rest Mitchell, have represented this man as a monster of cruelty and barbarity, it is important for us to know his character as it has been represented to us by contemporary writers. “Tilly was as much distinguished by his military talents as by his sincere piety and irreproachable morals. Often borrowing time from the night for prayer, when his occu-

* Menzel, des Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges, t. i. p. 332-334.

† Londorp Acta publica, Tubingæ, 1739, t. i. p. 873.

pations had left him none in the day, and joining to the temperance of a hermit the chastity of a monk."* At his death he left no fortune, though he had not wanted opportunities for amassing one, had he followed the example of Wallenstein, and other commanders of the period.

Besides the Duke of Bavaria, the electoral prince of Saxony, although a Protestant, espoused the emperor's cause, and entered Lusatia (a province of Bohemia) at the head of an army. The imperial troops having joined those of the league, Duke Maximilian, who commanded the army in person, led them to Prague, where he won the famous victory upon the White Mountain, a hill near that city (1620). This victory put an end to the Bohemian revolt, and overthrew the throne of Frederic, who fled in haste from his kingdom, without making a single effort to defend it.† Ferdinand had recovered by force of arms his power in Bohemia, and he had not only the right, but, according to the ideas of the age, it was his duty to punish the chiefs of a party who had drawn upon the country all the horrors of a bloody war, and who had exercised the utmost oppression against all who remained faithful to their ancient religion and to their sovereign. A sentence of death pronounced against rebels who had twice besieged the emperor in his residence, can certainly only be considered in the light of a just punishment of the high treason of which the Protestant states of Bohemia had rendered themselves guilty. Their trial was regular in all its forms, and judgment was pronounced upon them according to the laws of the kingdom.‡ Nevertheless (and this we learn from a Protestant contemporary historian, and a defender of his co-religionists), the emperor wished to save the life of the accused, upon the single condition of their acknowledging their guilt, and making an open submission. Upon their repeated refusal of these terms, Ferdinand, after a night passed without sleep, signed the death-warrant of the most guilty, but commuted the sentence into exile or imprisonment for the remainder.§ No member of the Protestant

* This testimony, which is borne to Tilly by many of his contemporaries (amongst the rest Adelreiter (*Annales Boicæ gentis*, t. iii. lib. 17), and the Marshal Grammont, *Memoirs*), has been ratified by the modern Protestant authors, Zschokke, *Baierische Geschichte*, Aarau, 1820, t. iii. p. 221, and Menzel, *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen*, t. i. p. 366.

† The conduct of this prince has been severely blamed by Menzel, *loc. cit.* t. i. p. 487.

‡ Tilly, who commanded at Prague, gave to the accused under his charge every facility for escaping, and even suggested to them, through one of his friends, that they might do so; but, for some reason quite unknown to us, they did not avail themselves of the power. Habernfeld, *de Bello Bohemico*, p. 61.

§ *Historia persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemæ*, p. 220; Habernfeld, *loc. cit.*; Menzel, *loc. cit.* t. ii. p. 44-47; Leo *Handbuch*, t. iii. p. 368, in the note.

states of Silesia and Moravia was punished with death, although they had taken an active part in the revolt of the Bohemians. In Austria, one man only, Paul Golt, was executed at Vienna. Moreover, the emperor confirmed to the Bohemians all their privileges and political liberty, not even excepting the religious freedom granted to them by the royal letter of Rodolphe II.*

Such was the conduct of Ferdinand, as it is described to us in the historical records of the times, which completely disprove the charges brought against this prince by Mitchell. "Not a single act of pardon," he says, "not a single remission of punishment was granted. . . . One act of severity followed another. Ferdinand, with his own hands, cut in two the Bohemian Magna Charta, and burned the seal. . . . Ferdinand spared his Austrian subjects as little as he spared his Bohemians."† This author then indulges in the most violent declamations against the emperor, who, after punishing the rebels, suppressed Protestantism in Bohemia. But it was clearly rather political considerations than a spirit of intolerance which influenced Ferdinand in his conduct. From the time of the Hussites downwards, Protestant doctrines had more than once drawn the inhabitants into revolt and disorder; and the emperor was persuaded that the re-establishment of the Catholic religion could alone secure his authority in that kingdom.‡

In Silesia, where Protestantism was predominant, Ferdinand established religious liberty; and at his coronation at Prague (1627), the Protestant Dukes of Brieg, of Siegnitz, and of Oels, filled the posts of honour due to their rank. There cannot, therefore, be any reproach cast upon Ferdinand upon this subject. "His persecution of the Protestants in Bohemia," says Menzel, "was a consistent working out of the principle which the Reformation introduced, that sovereigns had a right to regulate the belief and the worship of their subjects. The Protestant princes had used this right in all its extent, and they considered it as an inalienable privilege."§

At any rate, the emperor permitted his Protestant subjects to emigrate from Bohemia, and allowed them six months to dispose of their property. It is true, that those who were entrusted with

* Menzel, loc. cit. t. ii. p. 99, 100; Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, t. ix. p. 223, 227.

† Life of Wallenstein, p. 72-77. Mitchell appears to misunderstand the scope of the royal letter of the emperor Rodolphe, when he calls it a magna charta. The letter had nothing whatever to do with the political liberties of the kingdom of Bohemia.

‡ Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, t. ix. p. 223; Menzel, loc. cit. p. 94, 95.

§ *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges*, t. ii. p. 101.

the execution of the imperial orders committed some violences; but they were often provoked by the Protestant peasants, who, following the example of the Hussites formerly, took up arms, and killed Catholic priests and noblemen.* The emperor's arms had been successful also in the empire; the whole of the Palatinate, with the exception of a few towns, had been subdued by the Spanish general Spinola, who had been sent to the assistance of the emperor. Ferdinand had pronounced the ban of the empire against the electoral prince Frederic and his ally Duke Christian of Anhalt: he had conferred the forfeited dignity of Frederic on the Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. The Protestant union had laid down arms, and the emperor had declared his intention to convoke a diet for the month of September, 1621, in order to terminate the war, and to re-examine the affairs of the electoral prince Frederic and of his allies. While every act of the emperor thus shewed that he respected the rights which the constitution assured to the princes of the empire, two princes, who may be termed adventurers, continued to despise his authority, and to trouble the peace of Germany. Count Ernest of Mansfeld, and Christian of Brunswick, the administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, offered their services to the electoral prince Frederic, and induced him to continue the war against the emperor, instead of submitting to the decision of the diet. Ernest was the natural son of Count Peter of Mansfeld, a Catholic, and a general in the service of Austria: he had been legitimized by Rodolph II, and had served a long time in the imperial armies. He quitted the Austrian service, and entered into communication with the *Union*, changing, at the same time, his religion for that of Protestantism. The Count de Mansfeld was a distinguished soldier, but he was the first who proclaimed that pernicious maxim, "that war should be made to levy its own resources." The Bohemian states had taken him into their employment when they first rose in rebellion, and he had conducted the army which the Union sent to their assistance. After the battle upon the White Mountain, he was forced to quit Bohemia, and withdrew into the Palatinate, where he defended Heidelberg against the Spanish army. He had thought fit, however, to enter into negotiations with the emperor, with a view to re-entering his service, when he acquired a worthy companion in arms in the person of Christian of Brunswick. At sixteen years old, Christian had been made administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, (1616,) through his father's influence with the chapter of that town, which had already embraced Pro-

* Menzel, loc. cit. p. 97.

testantism. The emperor refused to confirm to this young man the possession of a bishopric which had been secularized against the provisions of the religious peace of Augsburg. Fearing to lose the means of supporting his lavish expenditure, and in love with the Princess Elizabeth, the wife of the Prince Palatine Frederic—he had fastened the princess's glove to his hat, with the devise "All for God and for her"—this dissolute young man flew to war, which was his great passion.

He raised troops in 1621, and laid waste the Catholic territories of Westphalia, pillaging the churches and convents. "He had in his army," says Menzel, "incendiaries who set fire to towns and villages in the most scientific manner; he boasted publicly of what he had done to the women in Catholic countries, and horribly mutilated all the Catholic priests who fell into his hands."*

Mansfeld and Christian were joined by the Margrave George Frederic of Baden, formerly a member of the Protestant Union; and these three princes declared war against the emperor, in the name of the Prince Palatine Frederic.

It is thus impossible to blame the Catholic party or the Emperor Ferdinand, for the continuation of the war. The Count de Tilly, who commanded the Catholic army, conquered these three princes, one after the other, took Heidelberg and Mannheim, and forced the Prince Palatine Frederic to separate his cause from that of his allies. Christian and Mansfeld† entered at first into the service of the republic of Holland, but soon quitted it. Mansfeld invaded Ostfriesland, and demanded from the Count of Oldenburg, who had taken no part whatever in the war, the sum of 150,000 thalers, and a free passage through his territory. Christian entered the country of Osnabrück, maintaining his troops by pillage. The diet which the emperor had called, and which was then sitting at Ratisbon (1623), confirmed the sentence pronounced against the Prince Palatine Frederic, and also the investiture of Prince Maximilian of Bavaria with the electoral dignity. It decided also upon putting an end to the rapine of these two adventurers: and Tilly was ordered to continue the war against them. He compelled them to seek refuge in the north of Germany, where, despairing of success, they disbanded their troops. Christian went to Italy, and Mansfeld followed him soon after (1624). "The conquest of the Palatinate," says Mitchell, "and the expulsion from

* Dreissigjährigen Krieger, t. ii. p. 80.

† These two chiefs at this time offered their services to the emperor, thus shewing what were the true motives of their actions. Ferdinand rejected the offer. See *Handbuch*, t. iii. p. 371.

Germany of Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswick, terminated the second act of the Thirty Years' War. It was again in Ferdinand's power to sheath the sword: he stood alone in the arena, but he stood armed, and his conduct and formidable attitude soon forced the remnants of the opposite party to adopt measures of security. It was easy to see that the liberty of Protestant Germany could not long be maintained, unless the power of the emperor and of the Catholics was confined within narrower bounds."* We shall see that these remarks have no historical foundation, and that they fall before an accurate knowledge of facts.

The success of his arms had raised the emperor to a degree of power which alarmed the ancient enemies of the house of Austria. The republic of Holland feared that Philip IV, king of Spain, might renew the war with them, in expectation of receiving the support of Ferdinand, in return for the services he had rendered to this prince. The Cardinal de Richelieu, who was now in power, had begun to develop his political system, of which the principal object was to weaken the house of Hapsburg, which now, since the conquest of the Palatinate, menaced France on three sides at once. It was to be feared, moreover, that the emperor might reclaim the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which France had taken possession of during the war of Schmalkald. The King of Denmark, Christian IV, who, by right of his duchy of Holstein, was prince of the empire, feared that the *ecclesiastical reservation* might be brought into operation as to the archbishoprics of Brême and Lübeck, which had been secularized by a prince of his family, John Frederic. He was desirous also of obtaining the bishopric of Hildesheim for his son. These three powers found an unexpected ally in the person of James I, king of England. Up to this time, James I had constantly refused to take part in the war, or to assist his son-in-law the Prince Palatine Frederic: his motive for this refusal was his desire to marry his only son Charles to a Spanish princess, daughter to Philip IV. With this view, he had sent his son to the court of Madrid, accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham.

The scruples of Philip IV at marrying his daughter to a heretic prince, had been quieted by a dispensation granted by Pope Gregory XV; but as this Pontiff died immediately afterwards, the king wished the dispensation to be confirmed by his successor, Urban VIII. The Duke of Buckingham, who was hated by the Spaniards for the haughtiness of his disposition,

* Life of Wallenstein, p. 85.

made a skilful use of the delays attendant upon these negotiations, to persuade the prince that he was trifled with by the court of Madrid. The prince left Spain precipitately, and the negotiations concerning the marriage were broken off (1624). The king believed the statements of his son and his favourite, and yielded to the solicitations of his daughter, and her husband the Prince Palatine Frederick, for assistance against the Emperor Ferdinand, by which also, he obtained revenge against the house of Habsburg. Accordingly he made overtures to France, and asked, for his son, the hand of Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. In 1625, an alliance was concluded at the Hague, between England, France, Holland and Denmark. James the First, it is true, died the same year; but his son and successor, Charles I, followed up the designs of his father. The allies attempted to draw into their coalition, Prince Bethlem Gabor, who governed Hungary as vassal of the Turks, and also the Republic of Venice, an ancient enemy of the house of Austria. A letter written by the Prince Palatine Frederic, to the Count de Thurn, (who, having been banished from Bohemia, was living at Venice,) fell into the hands of Tilly,* and was the first notice of this alliance, of which nothing had as yet transpired. "The King of Denmark," writes Frederick to Thurn, "remains faithful to his engagements, and continues his preparations; he has lately raised 10,000 infantry; but he must be assisted with money, and the King of England will do his utmost in this respect. The Republic of Venice cannot employ its money better than in supporting this prince,—the King of Hungary, (Bethlem Gabor,) has not received any of your letters, but he has received some of mine by a different channel." Some time afterwards another document became known, bearing evidence that the King of Denmark had undertaken to raise an army of 38,000 men, by means of large subsidies which he expected to receive from England and Holland.† It was agreed, moreover, that Mansfeld, and Christian of Brunswick, should be authorized to levy troops, and to recommence their devastating warfare.

The former succeeded in raising 15,000 men in England, and in joining these troops to those that Christian had enrolled in France; they met at Bergen op Zoom, from whence they marched together towards Northern Germany. The Protestant princes of the circle of Lower Saxony, made common cause with the ene-

* An extract from this letter, dated the 14th September 1625, is to be seen in Schmidt Geschichte der Deutschen. t. ix. p. 270.

† *Londorp Acta publica*, t. iii. p. 802. Cardinal de Richelieu had promised a subsidy of a million of francs: Ranke, *die Römischen Päbste*, t. ii. p. 508.

mies of the emperor. Many amongst them had seized upon Church property, and feared the execution of the *ecclesiastical reservation*; they therefore raised troops, of which they gave the command to the King of Denmark, making him commander in chief of the military power of the circle. In these circumstances the emperor saw himself obliged to take extraordinary measures, if he wished to prevent the empire from falling a prey to foreign enemies, who concealed their true designs under the mask of religion, and who called themselves the champions of religious liberty, which they themselves in their own countries trampled under foot. "Hardly ever, (says Leo) has a foreign power interfered in the affairs of Germany, in a more egotistical spirit than did the King of Denmark at this period.*" The army of the League, commanded by Tilly, could not suffice to meet so many enemies at once, and the emperor knew not where to find means for raising another. He was extricated from this difficulty by Albert de Wallenstein, or Waldstein, who played so great a part during this war. He was the son of a rich Bohemian nobleman, who had become Protestant, but having lost his father at the age of twelve, his Catholic uncle Slavata had sent him to the Jesuit College at Olmutz, where he was brought back to the Catholic Church. As he grew older, he travelled through Germany, England, France, and Italy, accompanied by Peter Verdungus, a learned mathematician and astrologer. He had studied at the Universities of Padua and Bologna, giving particular attention to mathematics and astrology,† and to the military sciences.

On his return from Italy, he entered the service of the house of Austria, and fought for the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, in a war against the Republic of Venice. He soon distinguished himself by his military talents, and was rapidly promoted.

By a marriage with a rich widow, who at her death left him a considerable fortune, he was raised to the rank of the first nobility of the country. When the Bohemian rebellion broke out, he declared openly for the emperor; at his own expense he raised a regiment of cavalry and fought in the Imperial army. After the war he purchased a great deal of land, that had been forfeited by the rebels, and the emperor gave him the title of Duke of Friedland, and the rank of a prince of the empire. Endowed

* Handbuch, t. iii. p. 374.

† We must not be surprised at Wallenstein's predilection for astrology, at a period when astronomy was so successfully cultivated by Tycho Brahe, and Kepler, and when the Emperor Rodolph II could forget the affairs of his empire, in observations on the stars. It is certain that Wallenstein's actions were greatly influenced by astrology, which in the end caused him to hasten to his destruction.

with great perspicuity and acuteness of mind, Wallenstein united to great energy of character a high degree of ambition. No one knew better than he did how to gain the affection of his soldiers, to whom he was most prodigally generous, even while maintaining strict discipline, with inexorable severity: he was consequently both beloved and feared by his army. Such was the man, who offered to raise for the emperor an army of 40,000 men, without requiring extra assistance. The examples of Mansfeld, of Christian of Brunswick, and of other captains of the time, were at hand to confirm what he had learned by his own experience in war, and to encourage him to make a promise, which the emperor's council were inclined at first to believe impossible of fulfilment. The religious troubles, which during the sixteenth century, desolated every country in Europe, had prodigiously increased the number of those, who, driven from their country, and entirely ruined, sought the means of subsistence in a military life. Armies were nearly all composed of mercenary soldiers; and war swelled the ranks with men, who cared only for their pay and for booty, and were ready to follow any captain who was generous and successful in arms. It was not uncommon, after a battle, to see the prisoners of war enrol themselves in the lines of the conqueror. The security offered by the name of the emperor, in whose cause he raised his army, together with his own great wealth and military renown, brought together in a few weeks 32,000 men under the standard of Wallenstein.

In spite of the protestations they had made, that their armaments were intended only for the defence of their own territories, the princes of the circle of Lower Saxony were the first to begin hostilities, by crossing the frontiers of their circle, whilst Mansfeld and Christian laid waste the Duchy of Clèves (1625.) The emperor considered these acts as a declaration of war, and Wallenstein and Tilly marched against the enemy. These two generals combined their plans of operation so well, that nearly the whole war was carried on in the enemies' country; while Wallenstein, marching against Mansfeld, defeated him near Dessau, and forced him to take the road to Venice alone. He died during this journey, at Urakowitz in Illyria. Tilly obtained, near Lutter, a decisive victory over the King of Denmark, who escaped with difficulty from the battle, having lost his ally, Christian of Brunswick, who died of some complaint in 1626. The King of Denmark was now supported chiefly by English troops. By the aid of the subsidies he received from Richelieu, he reorganized his army; declared the Archbishop of Bremen, whom he suspected of a secret correspondence with the emperor, to be deposed from his see, and named his own son Frederick, Archbishop of Bremen, and

Bishop of Halberstadt. In this last town, the Archduke Leopold William, son of the emperor, had been elected by the chapter, after the death of Christian of Brunswick. "It was the old project of the Kings of Denmark, to make themselves masters of the north of Germany, re-appearing under a new form, and disguised under the name of zeal for the interest of religion. To save the honour of Germany, it was necessary to march against the usurper.*

Tilly and Wallenstein united their victorious forces in Mecklenburg (in 1627) and, at the head of 80,000 men, drove the Danes from the German territories, to the frontiers of Jutland. The greater part of the princes of Lower Saxony, such as the Dukes George of Lünenburg, Frederic Ulric of Brunswick, and others, renounced their alliance with the King of Denmark, and submitted to the emperor, who thought it right, severely to punish those that persisted in their guilty intrigues with the enemies of the empire. He deprived the Dukes of Mecklenburg of their dignities and possessions, and bestowed this duchy upon his victorious general Wallenstein, who was already Duke of Sagan, in Silesia, and who thus became one of the most powerful princes of the Empire.† This general was now engrossed with two schemes, which, if he could have carried them into execution, would have entirely changed the situation of Germany, relatively to the other northern powers of Europe. The first was, to procure the King of Denmark to be deposed by his subjects, and the Emperor Ferdinand to be elected in his place; the second, to restore, in some measure, the Hanseatic League, by granting great privileges to the maritime towns, on the borders of the Baltic and the Northern Ocean. Germany would thus have had a naval force, which might have coped with that of England, Holland, or Denmark. But the first project failed from the fidelity of the Danes; the second was defeated by the resistance of the town of Stralsund, and the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, in the affairs of Germany.

The victories obtained by the generals of the emperor, had forced the King of Denmark to negotiate; and a congress was held at Lübeck, for the purpose of concluding a peace, while Wallenstein was besieging the town of Stralsund, which had received a Danish garrison. In the meanwhile, the emperor

* Leo Handbuch, t. iii. p. 382.

† The emperor has been often blamed for this act, as being contrary to the privileges of the princes of the empire;—but it must be considered, that the Dukes of Mecklenburg had deprived themselves of these privileges, by contracting alliances with the enemies of the empire, and that, consequently, Ferdinand only used the rights of war, when he treated Mecklenburg as a conquered country.

laboured to restore internal order in the empire, and, for this purpose, convoked (in 1627) a meeting of the electoral princes, at Mühlhaus. In this assembly, Duke Maximilian was generally recognized as an electoral prince, and the emperor took the sense of the meeting upon the case of the Prince Palatine Frederic.

The unanimous opinion was, that the prince should submit to the emperor; that he should make the *amende honorable*; that he should renounce the crown of Bohemia, and the dignity of electoral prince, and that he should defray the expenses of the war. Upon these conditions, the ban which had been laid upon him was to be taken off, and a part of his territories restored to him. This affair settled, the emperor required the advice of the Catholic princes, upon the best manner of obtaining the restitution of the ecclesiastical property which the Protestants had seized upon since the peace of Augsburg, and contrary to the *ecclesiastical reservation*, which was then guaranteed. The Catholic states insisted upon obtaining this restitution, because the constitution of the empire solemnly guaranteed the rights of the Catholic Church, and of its members; and because the religious peace had only been accepted by the Catholic states, upon the express condition, that a prelate changing his religion, should, of necessity, be deposed. It was, in consequence of this opinion, that the emperor published the famous edict of restitution two years afterwards (1629.) This edict decreed the restitution of all the Church property, which had been sequestered or confiscated by Protestants since the religious peace in 1555, and gave to Catholic states the right to withhold from their Protestant subjects freedom of worship, though they were to be left at liberty to emigrate. This last decree was grounded upon the "right that had always been claimed by Protestant states of *reforming* their subjects, and banishing those that opposed them."* This edict has been loudly blamed, and represented as an act of extreme injustice: "The right of long established possession," says Mitchell, "was entirely overlooked, and Ferdinand forgot, in his zeal for the Church, that he was actually setting himself up as a judge in a case in which he was a party also."† Our limits will not allow us to enter into a long dissertation, to prove, that the emperor upon this occasion, acted conformably to the ideas of right generally entertained at that period. We will content ourselves with opposing to the opinion we have just quoted—those of two modern Protestant authors,

* Khevenhüller Annales Ferdinandez, t. xi. p. 438.

† Life of Wallenstein, p. 126.

who have been hitherto our principal guides: "If we consider only the positive right," says Menzel, "we cannot attack the edict of restitution."^{*}

"The Protestant states," says Leo, "had always acknowledged the *ecclesiastical reservation* to be a binding law of the empire; many of them, in order to keep possession of the Church property they had appropriated, caused themselves to be consecrated bishops, according to the Catholic rites, that they might obtain a confirmation from the Pope. It was not, therefore, contrary to the principles of justice that the emperor should execute a law of the empire, as soon as it was in his power to do so; and when it is remembered, that very lately the King of Denmark had attempted to seize upon ecclesiastical property, as if it had been part of the domains of his crown, in order to found upon the possession of them, an usurped power in the north of Germany, it may be safely argued, that the emperor not only had the right, but that in his position it might even be his duty, to put into execution the *ecclesiastical reservation*. It is true, that it is quite a revolutionary principle to give the sovereign a right to determine the religious opinions of his subjects, (*jus reformandi*) but the Protestants had first insisted upon this principle, and the Catholic princes, when they adopted it, did no more than follow the example."[†]

A peace had been concluded with the king of Denmark at Lübeck, but Wallenstein had been obliged to raise the siege of Stralsund, whose inhabitants had derived fresh courage from the arrival of a body of Swedish troops, who repulsed the attacks of the enemy. Instigated by a desire to be revenged on the king of Sweden, and penetrating perhaps into the ambitious projects of this prince, Wallenstein sent a body of troops, commanded by his general Arnheim or Arnim, to the assistance of Sigismund, the king of Poland, who was now on the point of putting an end to his long war with Sweden by an armistice. With the remainder of his troops Wallenstein blockaded Magdeburg, which refused to open its gates to the emperor's son, who was designated archbishop. The Emperor Ferdinand was now at the height of his power; and many modern writers, amongst others M. Menzel,[‡] have blamed him, in the sincerity of their patriotism, for not taking this opportunity to re-establish the political unity of Germany, by restricting within narrower limits the power and privileges of the states of the empire, and thereby strengthening the royal authority.

"The German monarchy, (they say,) had it been thus more firmly and securely based, might have struggled successfully against France and

^{*} Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges, t. ii. p. 182.

[†] Handbuch, t. iii. p. 386-387.

[‡] Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges, tom. ii. p. 228-230.

England, who, by adopting these means, had been able to secure their nationality and political preponderance; while Germany, on the contrary, had fallen into a shameful dependence upon foreign powers."

We are far from contesting the truth of these observations, but instead of considering Ferdinand's conduct as on this account blamable, we think it deserves the highest praise. If he had merited the reproaches so continually cast upon him, and if ambition and egotism had been really the motives of his actions, would he have lost such an opportunity as this for establishing an absolute monarchy upon the ruins of the ancient constitution of the empire? On the contrary, Ferdinand had so great a love of justice, and so much respect for the rights and privileges of those whose sovereign he was, that he was not to be drawn into a single act of violence. He gave the strongest proof of these sentiments at the Diet of Ratisbon.

He had convoked that assembly in 1630, in order to secure to his eldest son Ferdinand the succession to the throne, and also to concert means for carrying into execution the edict of restitution, and for establishing peace and order in the empire. But he met with unexpected opposition from the electoral princes, as well Catholic as Protestant, who, forgetting their religious discords, made common cause, and demanded as the first condition of peace, the dismissal of Wallenstein and the reduction of the imperial army. Many causes had contributed to excite this hatred against the emperor's generalissimo. Wallenstein had raised himself from an obscure Bohemian nobleman to the rank of one of the most powerful princes of the empire; he was now at the head of a victorious army, and the princes became alarmed at his avowed determination to cause the emperor's authority to be respected by every one whomsoever.* The Duke of Bavaria was displeased at the decline of his influence, since the success of his general had rendered Ferdinand independent of the Catholic league; and Maximilian put himself at the head of those who required the dismissal of Wallenstein. It was true also that violence and excesses had been perpetrated by the imperial troops, even in the territories of the friendly princes; but this was an inevitable consequence of war, and of the peculiar organization of armies at that period, which could not fairly be charged to the account of Wallenstein.

The French cabinet laboured, by its intrigues, to induce the emperor to take the fatal resolution of granting the request of

* According to his enemies he had said, "that there was no occasion for electoral princes; that it was expedient to take from them their rank; and that in future, following the example of France and Spain, where there was but one sovereign, Germany should have but one emperor."—Menzel, *loc. cit.*

the states, and dismissing the only true support of his throne. Richelieu had succeeded in breaking up the power of the Huguenots, who, after the siege of Rochelle (1628), ceased to form a political party in France; he then resumed his favourite policy of weakening the House of Austria, and by his mediation a definitive peace was concluded between Sweden and Poland (1629); while, at the same time, M. Charnacé, the French ambassador, was negotiating an alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and France; and the Baron de Brulart and Father Joseph arrived at Ratisbon to foment discord between the princes and the emperor. Pressed by the French ambassador, Ferdinand sent his dismissal to Wallenstein, who obeyed without hesitation; thus confounding his adversaries, who had laboured to instil suspicions of his fidelity* into the mind of the emperor. The army was diminished by one half, and the command of it was entrusted to Tilly.†

The enforcement of the *edict of restitution* was suspended until the meeting of a new diet, which was to be called the following year at Frankfort; at which also the affair of the Dukes of Mecklenburg was to be once more enquired into. While the Emperor Ferdinand hastened, with even imprudent eagerness, to gratify the desires of the states of the empire, the King of Sweden landed on the coasts of Pomerania with his troops, whose discipline and valour made amends for their small number. "With the landing of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany," says Mitchell, "begins the dawning of a new and better era. Not only is the fortune of war changed almost immediately; the mode of conducting it is changed also, *and the voice of humanity is again listened to, even amidst the din of arms.*"‡

The sequel of the history will show how far this remark is founded. Gustavus II (Adolphus) succeeded his father, Charles IX (1611), and ascended the throne of Sweden at the age of seventeen. He is thus described by a Catholic contemporary author:—

"The King, Gustavus Adolphus, is above all remarkable for his prudence, for the richness of his ideas in conversation, for his affability in negotiations, by his courage in enterprises, his diligence in business, in

* Menzel, loc. cit. tom. ii. p. 237-262. Wallenstein shewed to the messengers who brought him his dismissal from the emperor, a horoscope he had drawn of the Emperor Maximilian, and said to them, "You see by the stars that the spirit (*spiritus*) of the Duke of Bavaria is predominating over that of the emperor, and on this account I do not blame the latter." Such was Wallenstein's confidence in astrology, in which he sought reasons for his actions.

† A large number of the 60,000 men who were disbanded, immediately joined the army of Gustavus Adolphus, who had just landed in Pomerania.

‡ Life of Wallenstein, p. 149.

difficult circumstances by his wisdom, in battles by his bravery, in dangers by his intrepidity, on all occasions by his vigilance. In a word he is a prince who knows and understands everything. There never was a general for whom his soldiers felt a higher degree of love and admiration. Heroic actions and efficient services are never forgotten by him.*

Gustavus Adolphus loved war, and had already made it, with as much talent as success, against Denmark, Russia, and Poland. His great ambition was to become master of the Baltic and its coasts; to obtain it he had made war upon Poland, and now attacked Germany. The interests of religion were nothing to him but a pretext for realizing his schemes of conquest.

"Gustavus Adolphus," says Leo, "made the interest of Sweden always his first object, and the plans he had in view in Germany were even more destructive to the constitution of the empire, and more usurping, than those of Denmark. Germany had no need whatever of this foreign interference, and it is only superficial reasoning, dictated by Protestant party spirit, which can pretend that the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus was necessary for the maintenance of Protestantism in Germany."†

Wallenstein's project of creating a naval force upon the Baltic and the northern ocean, threatened the power of this king; and the troops which the general had sent to the assistance of Poland, convinced him that, sooner or later, he should have to fear the intervention of Germany in the affairs of the north. Gustavus Adolphus determined not to wait to be attacked, but to take the offensive; and the disorganized state of Germany facilitated his project.

The intelligence of the King of Sweden's descent upon the coasts of Pomerania, arrived at Ratisbon at the very moment when the states were pressing the emperor to disband his army, and dismiss his general. Blinded by their hatred of Wallenstein, they did not see that they were depriving themselves of the only man able to check the valiant enemy who had invaded the empire. They contented themselves with writing letters to the King of Sweden, to induce him to give up his projects in Germany. But Gustavus, while protesting that he entertained only the most friendly intentions towards the States, treated them, in fact, in all respects like a conqueror. The Duke of Pomerania, Bogislao XIV, refused to enter into alliance with him, considering it inconsistent with his duty to the emperor to do so. Upon this, the King of Sweden ordered him, "as if he had been his

* Gualdo Priorato, in *historia delle guerre di Ferdinando III*, lib. v. p. 127. "Gustavus Rex," says the Pope's nuncio, Caraffa, (*Germania Sacca reformata*, p. 476) "cui parem Suecia nullum, Europa paucos dedit."

† *Handbuch*, tom. iii. p. 389-394.

sovereign and master,"* to come into his camp, and to open the gates of his residence at Stettin to him. He then obliged him to sign a treaty, by which the duke, who had no children, acknowledged the King of Sweden as his successor in his duchy; by which treaty he violated an ancient hereditary agreement between the houses of Pomerania and Brandenburg.† Finding no sympathy amongst the Protestant states of Germany, the King of Sweden concluded a treaty, by which he was to receive subsidies from France for five years.‡ These acts were not calculated to inspire the Protestant princes of the empire with confidence; and, accordingly, they met at Leipsic (1631), and came to the unanimous resolution not to ally themselves with the King of Sweden against the emperor, but to raise an army, and defend their privileges against whatever party should attack them. This resolution irritated Gustavus Adolphus, and especially against the electoral prince of Brandenburg, whose sister he had married. To compel this prince to take his side, he attacked the town of Frankfort on the Oder, carried it by assault, and sacked it. There was an imperial garrison§ in the town, although it belonged to the electoral Prince of Brandenburg. Until now, the Swedes had met but little resistance; for Tilly was occupied in besieging Magdeburg, which, from its situation on the Elbe, became a most important military position. The Protestant inhabitants of that town had already concluded an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, and their defence was directed by a Swedish officer: all eyes were consequently turned upon the King of Sweden, who had now so good an opportunity of proving to the German Protestants, that he was there to assist them against the forces of the empire. But, instead of saving Magdeburg, Gustavus negotiated with the electoral princes of Brandenburg and Saxony, and required that they should give up their fortresses, and aid him with troops and provisions. At length, the Prince of Brandenburg consented to place the fortress of Spandau in the hands of the Swedes; but it was too late. Tilly had taken Magdeburg, after a murderous combat, which lasted for four hours, in the very streets of the city; where the inhabitants made so obstinate a resistance, as to cost the assailants more than a thousand men. A fire, which broke out in many parts of the town at once, destroyed it almost entirely, in spite of Tilly's efforts to arrest its progress: || nothing was left of this flourishing

* Leo Handbuch, t. iii. p. 392.

† Menzel, loc. cit. t. ii. p. 290.

‡ Geijer Geschichte Schwedens, t. iii. p. 179.

§ "The Swedish army entirely sacked the town, sparing neither the town-house nor any private house," says the contemporary author of the *Inventarium Sueciæ*, t. ii. p. 306, a work which is written in favour of the Swedes.

|| It is from a contemporary author, Wassenburg, *Florus Germanicus*, p. 186, that

town, but the churches and a small number of houses that withstood the flames. The city was dreadfully pillaged* by the soldiers, amongst whom were many Protestants. Some modern authors, and amongst the rest, Schiller, and those who have copied him, like Mitchell, accuse Tilly of the horrors committed by his army at Magdeburg: they have not even hesitated to repeat the absurd and apocryphal story, that Tilly replied to some officers who asked him to spare the town, "Kill and burn a few hours longer, and then I shall see."† A contemporary author, himself a Protestant, assures us that Tilly shed tears on beholding the ruins of the city.‡ "But the tears of the general," says Menzel, "have not attained the same celebrity as those of Xerxes, Scipio, or Titus. It is, certainly, stated in modern histories," continues the same author, "that Tilly gave orders for the plunder and burning of Magdeburg; but all the circumstances, as well as the character of this general, tend fully to refute the assertion."§ Indeed, when we remember the moral condition of an army which has just carried a town by assault, and, moreover, the peculiar composition of armies at that period, we cannot blame Tilly for having been unable to prevent pillage. Gustavus Adolphus could not save Frankfort from being terribly pillaged, although the Protestant inhabitants did not offer the smallest resistance to his troops, who came to deliver them from the imperial garrison. That Tilly should have taken Magdeburg almost in the presence of the Swedish army, which was only a few days' distance from it, was a subject of universal indignation amongst the German Protestants. Gustavus Adolphus found it necessary to publish an apology for his conduct, in which he threw all the blame upon the electoral princes of Brandenburg and Saxony; but these excuses were not credited, and the general opinion, that the King of Sweden might, if he had pleased, have saved Magdeburg, remained unaltered. One of the emperor's most able generals, Pappenheim, who commanded

we learn this fact: the same author, and three others, of whom two are Protestants (*Epitome Rerum Germanicarum*, p. 101, and *P. Winsemias paneg.* in *Gusta. Amst.* 1632, p. 34), and the third Catholic (*Adelzreiter Annales Boicæ Gentis*, t. iii. p. 16), affirm that the inhabitants themselves set fire to some houses, to stop the plundering of the soldiers.

* *Inventarium Sueciæ*, t. ii. p. 311.

† *Schiller Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*: Mitchell, *Life of Wallenstein*, pp. 181-184. The same story is told by the author of a work called "The Swedish Soldier," which is little deserving of credit: however, the author has been at the pains to add, "*If this is true*,"—a proviso which modern authors have not taken the trouble to insert. Menzel, *loc. cit.* t. ii. p. 304, in the note.

‡ *Certe Tillius collucentem late urbem, cumulosque cæsorum et manantes tabo vicos obequitans, illacrymasse visus est: Brachelius historiarum nostri temporis*, lib. iv. p. 254.

§ *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, t. ii. pp. 304, 305.

under Tilly, was of the same opinion; for, in a letter which he addressed to the Duke of Bavaria, after the taking of Frankfort by the Swedes, he assures him, "that if the King of Sweden should continue his march, the imperial army would be forced to raise the siege of Magdeburg."*

The electoral Prince of Brandenburg demanded back the fortress of Spandau, which he had ceded to the King of Sweden, in order to facilitate his march upon Magdeburg. Gustavus did, indeed, evacuate it; but he marched to Berlin, and forced the prince, by a threat of cannonading the city, to give up to him Spandau and Kustrin, and to pay him 60,000 crowns a month, as a subsidy to maintain the war. After this violent conduct towards an independent prince, who was, moreover, his brother-in-law, Gustavus Adolphus occupied Mecklenburg, driving out the imperial troops and the persons whom Wallenstein had appointed to the public offices, and re-established the two exiled dukes, on the condition of their owning him as their sovereign.† The Duke George of Lunenburg, the Landgrave William V, of Hesse Cassel, and the valiant Duke Bernhard de Weimar, then joined his cause: this latter prince, the youngest of eight brothers, hoped, by the assistance of Gustavus Adolphus, to obtain possession of some ecclesiastical territories.‡ This was his real reason for taking part in the war, during which he distinguished himself by his military talents and his courage.§ The electoral Prince of Saxony remained faithful to his plan of observing a strict neutrality. He had raised an army of 18,000 men, and given the command of it to Arnim, the ancient general and friend of Wallenstein, who had quitted the service of the emperor after his expedition into Poland.

The emperor, who feared that the Elector of Saxony would, in the end, be obliged, whether he would or not, to make common cause with Gustavus Adolphus, summoned him to unite his troops with his, to resist the farther progress of the Swedes. But John George, who had hitherto rejected all the King of Sweden's invitations to conclude an alliance with him, refused to accede to the demands of Ferdinand. The fear of a junction between the Saxons and the Swedes, together with a total want of provisions, made Tilly at length determine to invade Saxony, which had not as yet suffered from the war. Irritated by this

* *Theatrum Europæum*, t. ii. p. 352. Menzel, loc. cit. t. ii. p. 311.

† *Leo Handbuch*, t. iii. p. 397.

‡ Menzel, loc. cit. t. ii. p. 326.

§ A very good biography of this prince has lately been published in Germany, by B. Roese: *Herzog Bernhard der Grosse von Sachsen-Weimar*. Weimar, 1828, 1829, 2 vols. 8vo.

step, John George called the King of Sweden to his assistance. After joining the Saxon army, Gustavus attacked Tilly between Leipsic and Breitenfeld, and completely defeated him. The results of this victory were immense. All the Austrian provinces were left defenceless, and there was nothing to prevent the conqueror from carrying his victorious arms to the very gates of Vienna. The greater part of the Protestant states of the empire followed the example of the Elector of Saxony, and embraced the cause of the King of Sweden, who thus became in some sort the chief of all the Protestant party of Germany. Gustavus Adolphus thought the moment was come when he might throw off the mask, and openly avow his real intentions. The electoral Prince of Saxony had promised him his vote to elect him King of the Romans,* and the King of Sweden no longer affected to conceal that the throne of Germany was the ultimate end of his ambition.† But to establish his power upon a secure foundation, he meant to secularize the ecclesiastical territories of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Mayence, Würzburg, Bamberg, and Spire; to add to these a part of the Palatinate, and thus to compose a new state, which should embrace the whole of central Germany.‡ “It is evident,” says Leo, “that Gustavus Adolphus made war for the interests of Sweden and not of Germany.§

Those views of the King of Sweden’s explain to us why, after the battle of Leipsic, he directed his march towards the Rhine, instead of invading Bohemia and Austria. He wished first to make himself master of Germany, from whence he might give laws to Ferdinand, who, had he been attacked in his capital, would have opposed to him the same unshaken firmness with which he had triumphed over the Bohemians. Leaving it to the Saxons to prosecute the war with the emperor, the King of Sweden turned towards the west. The towns of Erfurt, Würzburg, Aschaffenburg, Hanau, Mayence, and Mannheim, fell into his power; some opened their gates, others were carried by storm. The citadel of Würzburg, which had defended itself bravely, was sacked; and more than twenty Catholic priests were murdered by the soldiers at the foot of the altars.||

* This was the title of the intended successor to the imperial throne.

† The testimony of two contemporary and Protestant authors, De Puffendorff, *Commentario de rebus Suecicis*, lib. iii. sec. 31, and of the author of the *Theatrum Europæum*, t. ii. p. 592, has been cited by Menzel, loc. cit. t. ii. p. 321, in the note.

‡ Gustavus Adolphus often spoke of it himself during his first stay at Nuremberg: see Breyer *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*. München, 1811, t. i. p. 210; and Leo *Handbuch*, t. iii. pp. 400, 401. It is inconceivable how Mitchell (*Life of Wallenstein*, p. 271) can say, “the proofs necessary to substantiate this charge, are totally wanting.” This passage proves the trifling character of the author’s labours.

§ Leo, loc. cit.

|| Menzel, loc. cit. t. ii, p. 325.

In all these towns, Gustavus forced the inhabitants to do him homage as to their sovereign. It was in vain that the Prince Palatine, Frederic V, demanded Manheim and the Palatinate from the proud conqueror. Gustavus treated him with disdain, and returned an evasive answer.* He had determined also to give to his chancellor Oxenstiern, the dignity of electoral prince of Mayence, after having secularized† this bishopric, in order to have another vote at his disposal when his election as King of the Romans should be decided. In the meanwhile, the Saxon army had entered Bohemia, and threatened from thence Moravia and Austria. The emperor who had no army, nor any means to raise one, took the advice of the majority of his council, and addressed himself to Wallenstein, with whom he had kept up a close correspondence, and who, since his dismissal, had lived at Prague, or on his estates in Bohemia, surrounded by an almost royal court.

He had taken no part in public affairs, but he had attentively observed the march of events; and doubtless it had not escaped his acuteness that the time was approaching when the emperor must have recourse to his talents, and when he must receive a full reparation for the injustice that had been done to him. It is very possible that he might smile at the progress made by Gustavus, and the reverses of Tilly, although there is no proof that is satisfactory of the truth of an accusation made against him at a later period, that he had entered into secret negotiations with the King of Sweden, in order to overturn the throne of Ferdinand.‡ When the Saxon army had taken Prague, the emperor charged Wallenstein to negotiate with Arnim, in order to break, if possible, the alliance that had been concluded between the electoral prince of Saxony and Gustavus Adolphus. At the same time, the emperor entreated Wallenstein to resume the command of the imperial troops:—he refused at first, but urged by the pressing letters of the emperor, he yielded at length. Understanding, however, that he was to hold the command under the imperial prince Ferdinand, eldest son of the emperor, he declined it, but offered to raise an army of 40,000 or 50,000 men, and

* Moser *Patriotisches Archiv*, t. vii. p. 179. The conditions which Gustavus wished to impose upon Frederic were so hard, that the latter rejected them.

† Leo Handbuch, t. iii. pp. 403-404.

‡ These accusations are to be found in the *procès* of Wallenstein, published by order of the emperor: and they have been repeated by Khevenhüller *Annales Ferdinandæ*, t. xii. pp. 1110-1116. Foerster, (*Wallenstein's Briefe*, t. ii. pp. 128-179) has endeavoured to refute them. But it is remarkable that the report of this secret intercourse between Gustavus and Wallenstein, had already gained ground at this period, and had even been inserted in the French journals. See the letter from Tilly to Wallenstein, dated the 21st February, 1631, and the reply of the latter, dated the 14th March, in Foerster, *loc. cit.* pp. 149-152.

to command it for three months. And such was the renown of this general, that soldiers flocked from all sides to his standard; and at the end of three months he was, in fact, at the head of an army of 40,000 men. But it was evident, that only he who raised these troops would be able to command them; and being again solicited by the emperor, Wallenstein accepted the office of commander-in-chief, with an almost independent power. The following are the chief conditions of Wallenstein's service to the emperor:—the Duke of Friedland was named *generalissimo* of the house of Austria and the crown of Spain; the emperor was not to join the army in person, and could not issue any orders to it; a safe conduct, or a pardon granted by the emperor, was to be of no value without the confirmation of the *generalissimo*; in return for his services, the Duke of Friedland was to obtain one of the Austrian provinces, with all the rights of a prince of the empire of the highest class. In any future treaty of peace, Wallenstein's interest in the Duchy of Mecklenburg was to be taken into consideration, and the hereditary states of the emperor were to be open to the *generalissimo*, and to his army, in case of a retreat.* Wallenstein has been often blamed for exacting such exorbitant conditions from the emperor; but the intrigues to which he had once already been a victim, and the number of enemies he had, even in the imperial court, may in some degree excuse him. But on the other hand it cannot be denied, that these conditions were a proof of this general's great ambition—an ambition which tempted him to form guilty schemes, and in the end occasioned his ruin. It was towards the end of April, 1632, that Wallenstein was again placed at the head of the imperial army, and in less than six weeks, without giving them battle, he had forced the Saxons to evacuate Bohemia. While he reaped fresh laurels, his old adversary, Duke Maximilian, was driven to extremity by the victories of the King of Sweden. This prince had passed the winter on the borders of the Rhine, where he seized upon a number of small towns, until the advance of Tilly forced him to turn his arms against Bavaria. After the battle of Leipsic, Tilly increased his army to the number of 20,000 men, and marched to the assistance of the bishop of Bamberg; but the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus with a larger force, compelled him to retreat upon the river Seck, in order to defend Bavaria. The Swedish army forced the passage of the river, and Tilly, who had been dangerously hurt, threw himself with his army into Ingolstadt, where he died of the consequences of his wound. Gustavus Adolphus attacked this fortress, but

* Khevenhüller *Annales Ferdinandæ*, t. xii. p. 15.

finding that he could not take it, seized upon Augsburg, obliged the inhabitants to swear fealty to him, and from thence proceeded to Munich, the residence of Duke Maximilian, which he entered on the 7th of May, 1632. Wallenstein at first took no step to save Bavaria; and Maximilian determined to go in person and solicit aid from the general he had so grievously offended. The two princes were reconciled; "nevertheless," says a contemporary writer, "those who were present at this interview, believed they could observe that the Duke of Bavaria was a greater proficient in the art of dissimulation than the Duke of Friedland."* The union of the imperial army with that of the League, forced Gustavus to quit Bavaria and retire to Nuremberg, where the inhabitants were devoted to his cause. Wallenstein followed him, and entrenched himself in a fortified camp upon the heights of Fürth, at two leagues from Nuremberg. The two great generals of their time were thus for the first time opposed to each other, and a decisive battle was expected. Gustavus's army was superior in numbers, but Wallenstein had an advantage over his adversary in the position of his camp, which cut off the supply of provision from the enemy. After six weeks, the King of Sweden, no longer able to remain at Nuremberg, attacked Wallenstein's lines, but was repulsed with great loss. In despair of making his enemy abandon so secure a position, he quitted Nuremberg and marched again towards Bavaria, whither he was followed by Maximilian. Wallenstein took the direction of Saxony, in order to force the electoral prince to abandon his Swedish alliance. The elector summoned Gustavus Adolphus to his assistance, who attacked Wallenstein near Lützen, on the 6th of November, 1632: the battle was a most bloody one, and the King of Sweden having advanced too far, was killed by several of the enemies' balls.† Duke Bernhard de Weimar decided the fortunes of the day in favour of the Swedes.

While we acknowledge the distinguished qualities of the King of Sweden, we must avow that his death was a great blessing to Germany, which this foreign conqueror would have deprived of its independence. Mitchell goes too far in his eulogiums of this prince, and in placing him far above Louis XIV, and Napoleon. This author's predilection for Gustavus makes him guilty of great injustice to Napoleon in particular, who was certainly one of the greatest generals in modern times. "A ruthless conscription placed hundreds of thousands of brave and intelligent

* Khevenhüller *Annales Ferdinandæ*, t. xii. p. 24.

† Modern enquirers have fully proved that Gustavus Adolphus did not fall a victim to the treason of one of his officers, as was the prevailing opinion for some time: Geijer *Geschichte von Schweden*, t. iii. p. 233.

soldiers at his command, and the victories which he purchased with their blood, dazzled the world, who in its ready admiration of imperial sway, willingly overlooked *the meanness of his character, and the insignificance of his talents.*"* The Prince Palatine Frederic V, who had acted so unenviable a part in this war, died thirteen days after Gustavus Adolphus, without having recovered possession of his states. Ferdinand showed the greatest moderation on hearing of the death of his most formidable enemy: "Let us continue to be humble of heart (said he, to those who congratulated him upon it,) and to commend this business to God."† And Pope Urban caused a low mass to be said. The loss of the two parties at Lützen had been nearly equal; but Wallenstein, by quitting Saxony, and taking up his winter quarters in Bohemia, acknowledged himself defeated. The death of Gustavus Adolphus had deprived the Protestant party in Germany of its chief; for this prince left only a daughter of seven years old—Christiana; and the emperor had every right to expect, that the war which had lasted already twelve years, would be brought to a termination. These hopes were frustrated by two circumstances; on the one hand the activity displayed by the Swedish Chancellor, Axel Oxenstiern, one of the most able statesmen of his time: on the other, the ambitious projects of Wallenstein, who wished to be the sole director of German affairs, and to turn this power to his own advantage. After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the war in Germany changed its character entirely. It was chiefly upheld by the two foreign powers of Sweden and France, who continued it for their own benefit. Sweden would not abandon the conquests that Gustavus had made in Germany, and France strove to enfeeble the house of Austria. Amongst the German Princes who attached themselves to the cause of Sweden, the Dukes Bernard of Weimar, and George of Lunenburg, considered the war as a means of existence: Duke William of Weimar, and the Landgrave William of Hesse, received pensions from the crown of France. The electoral princes of Saxony, and of Brandenburg, remained the allies of Sweden, but in some degree, in spite of themselves; for they detested the Swedes, and were constantly negotiating with the emperor. These two princes took no part in the meeting at Heilbron, where Oxenstiern succeeded

* Life of Wallenstein, p. 273.

† Larmormain Speculum Theopoliticum, ch. xvii. p. 93. Mitchell loc. cit. 276, 277, accuses the emperor of having shown on this occasion an unmeasured joy. But the author does not support his opinion by any authority, and it is evident that it was instilled into him by that party spirit which is displayed in every page of his work.

in concluding an alliance between the Protestant States of the two circles of the Rhine; and of Franconia and Swabia, on the one part, and Sweden on the other. The Swedish Chancellor was entrusted with the chief management of affairs, and he increased his power by treaties with France, Holland, and England. In this division amongst his enemies, the emperor might have found a noble opportunity to put an end to the war. His own plan was to oblige the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, by dint of negotiations, to abandon the Swedish cause, to drive these invaders from German ground, and then to compel the other German princes to lay down their arms. But his hands were tied; he could not dispose of his military power, without the consent of Wallenstein, who was the sovereign of his army; and whose views were not the same as his own. Yet circumstances were now much in favour of the Imperial general, who was at this time at the head of 40,000 men, over whom he exercised an absolute sway; while the forces of the enemy were led by many generals, more or less independent of each other. Duke Bernhard, and under him, the Swedish general Horn, led the chief army, and continued the war in Franconia, and the south of Germany. Duke George of Lunenburg, together with the Swedish General Knipphausen, was at the head of a division in Lower Saxony and Westphalia. These two princes were not inclined to pay much attention to the orders of the Swedish Chancellor, who had only a small army under his influence, under the command of Banner, which was stationed in the territories of Magdeburg and Halberstadt; and the Saxon army, under the command of Arnim, dependent still less upon the Chancellor, although the exiled Bohemian, the Count de Thurn, had joined it with 6,000 Swedes. After the death of his formidable enemy, Wallenstein seems to have aspired to becoming independent, and to playing the part of arbiter in Germany,—to dictate conditions of peace to the foreign powers, to the princes of the empire, and the emperor. We are induced to believe this from an attentive consideration of his actions, from the battle of Lützen until his death. While the Protestant armies were actively following up the advantages they had derived from the victory of Lützen, Wallenstein remained in Bohemia until the month of May 1633. Duke Bernhard threatened Bavaria with a new invasion; George of Lunenburg took Harnelm, and many other important towns in the north of Germany; and the Saxon army conquered the whole of Silesia. Wallenstein, who had orders from the emperor to negotiate with the electoral-princes of Saxony and Brandenburg, took the opportunity of opening a correspondence with France. For this purpose he

employed chiefly one of his most intimate friends, the Count de Kinsky, who lived at Dresden, and commenced an intercourse with M. de Feuquières, the ambassador from France to the electoral-princes of Saxony; yet he was careful not to compromise himself, by committing any thing to writing, or by entrusting his schemes to General Arnim, who, as well as his sovereign, leaned to the emperor's side.* About the beginning of May, Wallenstein marched to Silesia, but instead of attacking the enemy, who could only have opposed him with 20,000 men at the most, he passed four weeks in marching and counter-marching, and at last concluded a truce of a fortnight with Arnim. In an interview with this general, Wallenstein expressed his wish for a general peace with Sweden, and with Saxony and Brandenburg; complained of the Duke of Bavaria, and the Jesuits, who he said were his greatest enemies at Court; and threw out hints that it was his intention to seize upon the crown of Bohemia.† The Count de Kinsky, had already made M. de Feuquières aware of Wallenstein's intentions; adding that Wallenstein was treating on the same subject with the Swedish chancellor, through the intervention of the Count de Thurn, who commanded a body of Swedish troops in the Saxon army.‡ But Oxenstiern had an acuteness of mind, and a clearness of political views, no ways inferior to Wallenstein's, and which was fatal to these plans. The chancellor penetrated his real designs, and advised the Count de Thurn not to be deceived by the Duke of Friedland, and neither to hasten the negotiations, nor to advance too far without giving him notice of it;§ and in this he was right, for Wallenstein hated the Swedes, and would have rejoiced in an opportunity to sow discord between them and the German princes, and to make his own profit by it. At all events he kept the court of Vienna in ignorance of these negotiations with France and Sweden,—a clear proof of the guilt of his designs. In his letters to the emperor, he speaks only of his hope soon to conclude a favourable peace with Saxony, that he may

* Letter from Feuquières to Richelieu, dated 17th June, 1633, in the Letters of Feuquières, t. i. p. 225. Fœrster would have it, that the Count de Kinsky acted in this business on his own account, and not by the authority of Wallenstein; but the great intimacy of these two men refutes this crafty excuse, by which the author has sought to justify the man whose defence he has undertaken.

† *Theatrum Europæum*, t. iii. p. 74. *Puffendorf Commentaria de rebus Sueciis*, lib. v. § 53. *Khevenhüller Annales Ferdinandæ*, t. xii. p. 578. *Bukisch Religionsacten*, t. v. p. 980. Menzel has clearly proved that these words of Wallenstein have not been circulated only since his death, as his defenders have asserted.

‡ *Memoirs of Richelieu*, t. viii. p. 335. Letter from Louis XIII to M. de Feuquières, 19th June, 1633, t. i. p. 258. The Swedish historian Chemnitz, who wrote the *Memoirs of Oxenstiern*, tells the same story. *Schwedischer Knig. in Deutschland*, Stockholm, 1653, t. ii. p. 154.

§ Chemnitz, loc. cit.

then drive the Swedes from the German territory.* The French, jealous of the increasing influence of Sweden, made great efforts to come to a conclusion with Wallenstein. M. de Feuquières addressed two letters to him, and although he received no answer, he continued to make him great offers, through the medium of the Count de Kinsky, who, in the name of the Duke of Friedland, had put several questions to him respecting an alliance with France. Feuquières sent these questions to Paris, and received an official reply, dated the 16th July, 1633, in which amongst other things, it was said, "that if the Duke of Friedland would conclude a treaty, by which he would oblige himself to keep on foot an army of 30,000 foot soldiers, and 4 or 5,000 cavalry, wherewith to oppose the designs of the house of Austria, his Majesty would bind himself to pay him one million of francs yearly."† This reply was accompanied by an autograph letter from Louis XIII. to the Duke of Friedland, which was couched in the most general terms, that it might do no harm in case it should fall into other hands. In the meanwhile the inactivity of Wallenstein, which surprised every one, had been enquired into by his numerous enemies at the court of Vienna. Intrigues were renewed against him, and it was probably to triumph over his adversaries, that Wallenstein renewed hostilities in Silesia, the day after the conclusion of the armistice, (the 23d June 1633.) But after an attempt at surprising the fortress of Schweidnitz, which failed, he entrenched himself in the mountains, between Silesia and Bohemia, and remained inactive during eight weeks. At length he concluded a new armistice for four weeks, with Arnim, and the Count de Thurn.‡

Wallenstein had neither replied to the communications of M. de Feuquières, nor to the letter of king Louis XIII, so that the French ambassador no longer knew on what terms he stood with him. When, in the month of August, on his return from Berlin to Dresden, the Count de Kinsky came to him, and in Wallenstein's name, inquired if the French cabinet was still disposed to treat with him on the same terms as formerly, Feuquières, who began to distrust the Duke of Friedland, gave an evasive answer, and nothing farther was done. The conduct of Wallenstein became more and more enigmatical to all who were concerned with him. If we may believe an assertion which De Kinsky made to

* Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, t. x. p. 149. It is singular, that M. Færster in Wallenstein's Correspondence, which he has published, has inserted none of the letters which this general exchanged with the emperor during the whole year 1633.

† Feuquières letters, t. ii. p. 1.

‡ Færster, *Wallenstein's Briefe*, t. ii. p. 50.

De Feuquières, at a later period, the only reason why Wallenstein did not declare openly against the emperor, was the fear of being abandoned by a part of his officers.* However this may be, he shewed the same indecision in his conduct to Arnim, who had gone in person to communicate to Oxenstiern the propositions that Wallenstein had made to him, at the conclusion of the last armistice. "The Duke of Friedland," said the Saxon general, "has determined to be revenged on the emperor, for the insult offered to him three years ago, if only he could be secure of the support of the Protestant states. He believes that he can depend upon the greater part of his officers; and has concluded this armistice, in order that he may enter into communication with the Swedish chancellor. His plan would be to march to Bohemia, and from thence to attack Austria and Styria, while Duke Bernhard de Weimar should march against Bavaria, and the Swedish general Horn against the Spaniards, who, under the command of the Duke de Feria, had entered the south of Germany from Italy." The chancellor gave no credit to the communications of Arnim, whom he suspected on account of his old connexion with Wallenstein. "He, however, informed the Duke of Weimar of the whole affair, advising him not to be deceived by the Duke of Friedland," but to wait for what he calls "his real demonstration." At the same time, he sent an officer into Silesia to acquire more ample information, and to assure Wallenstein of his assistance, if he were really inclined to turn against the emperor.† The historian of the Emperor Ferdinand tells us, that the chancellor entrusted to one Bubna, a Bohemian exile, written propositions to Wallenstein, who, after having read them, said aloud to the bearer of the letter, "This chancellor is a reasonable man,—these proposals are excellent; but it is not yet time. When it is time, I will do it all."‡ In these words, if Wallenstein really made use of them, we may perceive another motive for his indecision. He thought he could tell by his astrological calculations that the time for acting was not arrived; and in fact, he again broke off all negotiations.

When Arnim returned to Silesia, after the journey he had taken to see Oxenstiern, Wallenstein proposed that they should form an alliance to drive the Swedes from the empire, in the first place; and when the Saxon general expressed his astonishment at this proposition,§ he sent him word that he would com-

* Feuquières' Letters, t. ii. p. 211.

† Chemnitz, loc. cit. Roesé Bernhard da Grosse, t. i. p. 246.

‡ Khevenhüller, *Annales Ferdinandæ*, t. xii. p. 1122.

§ Arnim's Letters to the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, in Færster, t. iii. pp. 72, 75.

mence hostilities on the 1st of the following October. Appearing as if he would invade Saxony, he deceived his enemies, who divided their forces. Arnim marched towards Dresden, and the Count de Thurn, who remained with 6000 men in Silesia, was surprised by Wallenstein, and forced to surrender unconditionally, with his arms and baggage. Against all expectation, he restored Thurn to liberty, thereby increasing the suspicions which were now entertained against him at Vienna; but the presence of Thurn, whom he had employed in his negotiations with Oxenstiern, would undoubtedly have compromised him at court. After this *coup-de-main*, he drove the enemy from Silesia, and advanced into Lusatia, while a detached body of troops under Terzka ravaged Brandenburg, and levied a contribution upon Berlin.* But while he followed up his triumph over the enemy, Wallenstein saw with pleasure the progress made in Bavaria by Duke Bernhard de Weimar and General Horn. The imperial general, Aldringer, who also commanded the Bavarian troops, had been forced to fall back upon the Izor; and Wallenstein consented, after reiterated entreaties from the emperor and the Duke Maximilian, to send him some reinforcements, but with the strictest orders to hold himself on the defensive.† The consequences of these orders were most vexatious; for Eichstedt, and part of the palatinate, fell into the power of the enemy. At length, the rapid progress of the Swedes determined the emperor to ask for the assistance of Philip IV of Spain. A Spanish army was assembled at Milan, under the orders of the Duke de Feria, and was from thence to march into the south of Germany. No sooner had Wallenstein learnt this, than he sent Colonel Diodate to the Cardinal-Infant, Ferdinand, brother of the king of Spain, to desire that Feria should not enter Germany, because, he said, the arrival of foreign troops might occasion the breaking-off of the peace which he was on the point of concluding.‡ Wallenstein had never been farther from attaining this object than at this time, and the pretext was but a poor disguise of his fear of the arrival of an army, which might weaken his influence at the court of Vienna. When the Spanish army had crossed the Alps in spite of him, he refused, at first, to give orders to Aldringer to

* Wallenstein's Letters to the Count de Gallas, dated 12th October, 1633, in Fœrster, t. iii. p. 81, 82.

† He repeated these orders to Aldringer at the very time when he was writing to the emperor that he had left this general to act according to his discretion. Fœrster and Mitchell (who, in this part of his work, has only copied from Fœrster) do not mention these heavy charges which are brought against Wallenstein in the official recital of his process. It must be presumed that these authors have found no documents which can disprove it.

‡ Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen, t. x. p. 154.

join him; and when he yielded to the emperor's desire, he sent him secret orders to cross the designs of his new allies.*

The Duke de Feria wished to march against the Swedes, and to give them battle near Dutlingen, on the Danube; but when this plan was discussed in a council of war, Aldringer opposed it, and succeeded in persuading the Spanish general, who had no great military talent, to abandon this project, and to march towards the Rhine.† Duke Bernhard de Weimar profited by the false steps of the enemy, to besiege Ratisbon. Again the Duke of Bavaria entreated Wallenstein to send him 5000 men, and the emperor dispatched seven couriers, one after another, urging him to send a reinforcement under the command of Gallas to Ratisbon.‡ But Wallenstein, who saw the success of the Duke of Weimar with pleasure, threw no obstacle in his way; and the Swedes took Ratisbon, Straubing, and some other towns, threatening, on the one hand, Munich, and, on the other, Passau and Linz. Alarmed for the safety of Austria, the emperor demanded help in the most energetic terms, and Wallenstein quitted Lusatia, at length, in the month of November, and encamped for some time at Furth, near Nuremberg. But instead of continuing his route, he retraced his steps, and took up his winter quarters in Bohemia. The emperor tried at first to prevail with him to choose other quarters; but he allowed himself to be persuaded by Wallenstein's reasons, and wrote him a most obliging letter, informing him that he had sent him 100,000 florins from his private treasure, and a large quantity of provisions which he had collected for him in Austria and Hungary.§

This letter was of a kind to set Wallenstein's mind at rest respecting the emperor's sentiments towards him; but instead of its turning him from his ambitious projects, he resumed them the more actively, as he now felt secure that his negotiations with Sweden and France had not transpired. While the Count de Kinsky was informing De Feuquières, in a letter dated the 1st January, 1634, that there was nothing now to prevent the execution of the treaty between France and the Duke of Friedland,|| Wallenstein, on the other hand, was trying to gain over to his purposes the generals of his army, and to make sure of the subal-

* Gualdo, *Historia delle Guerre*, p. 175; Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

† Gualdo, *loc. cit.* p. 176, 177.

‡ Schmidt, *loc. cit.*; Chemnitz, *loc. cit.* t. ii. p. 335. Fœrster does not mention these facts, which have nevertheless a most suspicious appearance against Wallenstein.

§ This Letter is dated the 3rd January, 1634, in Fœrster, *Wallenstein's Briefe*, t. iii. p. 142, 144.

|| See Count Kinsky's Letter, and De Feuquières's reply to it, in Fœrster, t. iii. p. 448-450.

tern officers. The first person to whom he communicated his plans was the Count Piccolomini, an Italian by birth, in whom he had great confidence; but this general, while he feigned to approve of the plans suggested to him, was the first to sound an alarm at Vienna. Wallenstein next convoked, on the 11th January, a meeting of all the chief officers of the regiments at his head-quarters at Pilsen; and in order to sound their dispositions towards him, he caused it to be announced to them by General Illo, his friend and confidant, that he intended to leave the service of the emperor, on account of the *injustice with which he was treated at court*. Illo prevailed with the officers to entreat the general to remain at the head of the army, by representing the ill consequences his resignation would have for them. A deputation waited upon Wallenstein, who, after some hesitation, promised them not to forsake the army. Illo and Terzka pressed the officers to sign a document they had drawn up, in which they bound themselves, by an oath, to "remain faithful to the Duke of Friedland, until the last drop of their blood, *so long as he continued in the service of the emperor*." This document was signed at a banquet given to the officers, in the course of which confusion and disputes had arisen, on account of the refusal of some of the guests to affix their names. Wallenstein's enemies afterwards asserted that the copy of the document offered for signature at the banquet, did not contain the last clause; but as this fact was not alleged on the trial which, at a later period, took place of some of the officers who signed the paper, the question must remain in doubt.*

Wallenstein having heard of these disputes, called a meeting of his officers on the following day,—restored to them the document they had signed,—and again declared to them that he should leave the army. They entreated him to pardon what had taken place the day before,—signed several copies of the document,—and insisted upon it that he should not resign.† These facts, the truth of which cannot be contested, have a strong appearance of guilt. "If," says Menzel, "Wallenstein did not conceal under these actions any projects hostile to the emperor,—if he really intended only to lay down the command of the army, as at this period he so often said he should,—there is no conceivable reason for his forming, through his friends, such an association amongst his officers; or why did he not put a stop to it, so soon as it became known to him, if his confidants had acted without his authority?"‡ Wallenstein was altogether silent upon the subject

* Förster, Wallenstein's Briefe, t. iii. p. 147-151.

† Khevenhüller, Annales Ferd. tom. xii. p. 1140.

‡ Dreissigjähriger Krieges, t. ii. p. 400.

in his letters to the emperor, who heard of these events at Pilsen from Aldringer and Piccolomini. Ferdinand had been slow to credit the accusations brought against his generalissimo; but he yielded at length to the solicitations of his council, and of the Spanish ambassador, Ognate, and on the 27th January signed letters-patent, by which he transferred the command of the army to Count Gallas, at the same time granting pardon to all the officers who had joined the association at Pilsen, except Wallenstein, Illo, and Terzka. Gallas, at the same time, received an order to arrest these three persons, that they might take their trial; or if this were impossible, to seize upon them alive or dead.* The existence of these letters-patent was kept a profound secret, and the emperor did not interrupt his correspondence with Wallenstein. The advocates of the latter have charged this to Ferdinand as a crime; but when we remember his uncertainty as to the disposition of the army, and also the unlimited power with which Wallenstein was invested, it must be owned that the most ordinary prudence required that he should act with great precaution, and not too soon awaken the suspicion of this general. Gallas was at Pilsen when he received the charge to execute these orders. Wallenstein had at first no suspicion that the emperor was informed of his projects; and thinking himself secure of his army, he actively continued his negotiations with France.† At the same time, he made overtures to Duke Francis Albert of Lunenburg, who had arrived at Pilsen, deputed by the electoral princes of Saxony and Brandenburg, to negotiate a peace with the emperor.

The departure of Gallas, followed immediately by that of Piccolomini, who joined Aldringer at Linz, gave the first alarm to Wallenstein, who was soon informed of the letters patent issued against him. He immediately sent the Duke of Lunenburg to the Duke Bernhard de Weimar, to desire him to draw towards Bohemia, and effect a junction with him;‡ at the same time, he gave the necessary orders for concentrating his army at Prague by the 23rd February. On the 20th of the same month, he made his principal officers sign a protestation that he had never entertained any designs hostile to the emperor: but it was too late. On the 18th February, fresh letters patent were issued against him: and the majority of his army had already been gained for the emperor, by Generals Gallas, Piccolomini, Aldringer, Maradas, and Suys. Suys made himself master of Prague; and Wallenstein's only chance was to draw towards the

* Færster, loc. cit. t. iii. p. 177-179. † Feuquières' Letters, t. ii. p. 211.

‡ Chemnitz, t. ii. p. 335.

frontiers of Bohemia, and join Duke Bernhard, with such of his troops as had remained faithful to him. He went from Pilsen to Eger, accompanied by Illo, Terzka, Kinsky, and some other officers; but Colonel Gordon, the commandant of this town, conspired against him, with Butler and Leslie, and killed him with his partisans, on the night of the 24th-25th February. Without undertaking to justify this violent action, it must, at least, be acknowledged, that Wallenstein had been guilty of high treason, and that he did not fall, as some modern authors have asserted, a victim to perfidious intrigues: nor can the emperor be accused of cruelty and injustice, in giving orders to seize, alive or dead, the person of a general whom all his contemporaries accused of high treason, and against whom there were the heaviest suspicions. "The mildest sovereigns of our days," says Menzel, "would certainly not think themselves obliged to keep any measures with a general who was secretly intriguing with a foreign power, and, still more, a hostile power."^{*}

The events which immediately followed the death of Wallenstein, place the guilt of his conduct after the battle of Lützen in a still more striking point of view. The imperial army, under the command of Ferdinand, the emperor's son, was everywhere victorious. It retook Ratisbon; and gained a brilliant victory over Duke Bernhard and General Horn, near Noerdingen (1634). All Swabia and Franconia fell into the power of the emperor. In spite of the renewal of the alliance between Sweden and France, and the arrival of a French army on the banks of the Rhine, the imperial troops took Augsburg and Philipsburg, and made a prisoner of the Archbishop of Trèves, who had espoused the French side. At the same time, the emperor resumed his negotiations with the electoral Prince of Saxony, and concluded a peace with him at Prague, on the 30th May, 1635; to which peace the electoral Prince of Brandenburg gave in his accession, on the 27th August, in the same year. Duke George of Lunenburg had done the same on the 29th July, having quitted the service of Sweden. Shortly afterwards, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the towns of Erfurt and Frankfort, the Protestant states of the circle of Lower Saxony, and the Hanseatic Towns, abandoned the cause of the two foreign powers; and France and Sweden had no longer any allies amongst the Protestant states of the empire, except the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, and Prince Bernhard of Weimar. All these successes the emperor had obtained in less than two years, without any ex-

* Dreissigjährigen Krieges, t. ii. p. 409.

traordinary efforts, and with only the same troops that had been united under the command of Wallenstein. Yet the war lasted for thirteen years longer; thanks to the activity of those two implacable enemies of the House of Austria, Cardinal Richelieu and the Swedish chancellor Oxenstiern; and the power and prosperity of Germany were so reduced by it, that, for more than a century, it could not recover from these disasters.*

From this state of degradation, Wallenstein might, perhaps, have saved his country, if he had honestly employed for this purpose those talents which have placed him so high upon the list of the most eminent captains and distinguished statesmen of Europe.

ART. VII.—*Voyages, Relations, et Mémoires Originaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique*. Publiés pour la première fois en Français par H. Ternaux-Compans. 6 tom. 8vo. Paris. 1837. Contenant: 1. *Relation véridique de la Conquête du Pérou et de la province du Cuzco, nommée Nouvelle Castille*. Par François Xeréz. 2. *Histoire de la Province de Santa Cruz*. Par Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo. 3. *Commentaires d'Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, Adelentado et Gouverneur du Rio de la Plata*. 4. *Histoire d'un Pays situé dans le Nouveau Monde, nommé Amérique*. Par Hans Staden, de Homberg en Hesse. 5. *Narration du Premier Voyage de Nicolas Federmann, le jeune, d'Ulm*. 6. *Histoire véritable d'un Voyage Curieux, fait par Ulrich Schmidel, de Straubing*.

THE publication of the above works, which, if intended to be as comprehensive as the subject requires, would be only the commencement of an extensive series, affords us a suitable opportunity of introducing the ancient Peruvians to the British public; and of correcting, in reference to the Spanish conquest of that people, some fallacies that during three centuries have misled our countrymen,—fallacies that the celebrated history of Robertson has not tended to remove. We select Peru from the

* When we study the account of this war in the historians of the times, and of all its disastrous consequences to Germany, it is impossible to adopt the opinion of Wallenstein's biographer, respecting the wholesomeness of its influence upon society. "The iron hand of war," says Mitchell, "shakes off from men the trammels of habitual thought that binds down the greater part of the species to everyday mediocrity; it throws them back, and roughly too, upon their own innate qualities, which are brought rapidly to light and maturity. That, along with the good, many bad qualities are also brought to light, cannot, indeed, be denied; but the school which leads to perfection, has yet to be discovered."—*Life of Wallenstein*, pp. 262, 263.

other colonies of the New World, because its original state is less known, because our collections respecting it are copious, because in our opinion it possesses an interest superior to the rest, and because we are anxious to do what no Englishman has yet done,—to give a strictly impartial account of the circumstances attending its subjugation. Spain, in reference both to Peru and to all her colonies, has guilt enough to expiate: let her no longer bear the stigma of that with which historic justice refuses to brand her.

The origin of the Peruvians, like that of all the American people, is wrapt in darkness impenetrable to historical criticism. Assuredly, however, they were not, as Robertson would have us believe, of the same stock as the other people of that continent. "The striking similitude," for which he contends, "in the form of their bodies and the qualities of their minds," exists only in his imagination. The Patagonian bears no affinity to the Cherokee; the Peruvian has not the slightest resemblance to the Mexican. The physical differences between the two former will sufficiently demonstrate a diversity of origin; the difference alike in language, reigion, and manners, attests a distinction no less characteristic between the latter. Not one word in one hundred in the speech of these people has the slightest affinity. This one fact, which we give on the authority of a learned Peruvian, who has devoted much time to Mexican antiquities, at once overthrows the hypothesis of the celebrated Scotchman. Nor do we subscribe to his opinion, that America was peopled from the north-eastern regions of Asia only. On the contrary, we think that both Peruvians and Mexicans derived their origin from central or southern Asia. The enquiries of recent missionaries in the South Sea islands, especially of Mr. Williams, have brought to our knowledge a multitude of new words to enrich the stores of the etymologist. Now in the dialects of one race occupying the southern islands of Polynesia, there are many, very many words, substantially the same as the Peruvian. Of this fact, which, so far as we know, has not hitherto been noticed, any reader may convince himself by comparing Mr. Williams's vocabularies with such portions of the gospels as have yet been translated into the language of Peru. Nor would it, we think, be difficult, by the aid of language alone, to trace the gradual migration eastwards of two distinct races,—one from Java, the other from Japan. Here tradition confirms the fact deducible from analogy of language. Many of the islanders, with whom Mr. Williams and other missionaries conversed, asserted that at a period beyond the reach of their rude computation, their ancestors had arrived from the west; and some there were who distinctly remembered a tradition that in former times a colony of their race had sailed to a great

country in the east.* Whether one of these races reached the coast of Mexico, is a problem which we shall not attempt to solve; but that the other did found an empire on the coast of Peru, is to be inferred from the facts we have stated. After all, however, these facts are not so decisive as we could wish. Peru, like Mexico, evidently consisted of two distinct people—the labouring and the dominant castes; the original inhabitants and the victors. Certainly the Peruvians had two distinct languages, though the one still extant among their descendants predominated. And if Garcilasso de la Vega, himself a Peruvian, and of the imperial race of the incas, is to be believed, there was a *third*,—that spoken by the incas themselves, and wholly unknown to the rest of the nation.

But, whatever may have been the origin of the Peruvians,—whether they came direct from the Asiatic continent, or through the medium of the numerous islands which lie scattered in the Pacific ocean,—a more interesting subject is that furnished by their condition prior to their subjugation by the Spaniards. Here tradition indeed is our only guide; yet it is entitled to respect when it is preserved by a people tenacious of their ancient customs, when it does not ascend to a high antiquity, and when it is corroborated by reason. Tradition, in fact, is the only authority we possess for the early history of most other countries,—of Greece, Rome, Scotland, and Ireland, amongst the rest,—and we know not by what canon of criticism it can be received in the one case, and rejected in the other. If ever this mode of conveying facts to posterity deserved our notice, it is in regard to the empire of the incas. To us,—and to every enquirer the result will be the same—it brings all the conviction attending written documents.

The state of Peru prior to the Spanish invasion must be divided into two periods,—the one preceding, the other following, the establishment of an imperial government by the incas.

1. If Garcilasso de la Vega, in his *Commentarios Reales*, is at much pains to vindicate the nation from the heavy charges brought against it by the Spaniards, in reference to the latter period, he does not conceal one of its vices during the former. In this case he has been suspected of too much severity, in order to heighten the contrast between the two conditions of Peruvian society. The suspicion, however, seems to be unjust; for the most hideous features of his picture were to be discovered among the neighbouring tribes long after the arrival of Pizarro; and are still to be recognized among the savages on the banks of great

* In confirmation of these views, we beg to refer to Dr. Lang's *Work on the Polynesian Nation*.

rivers in the interior of South America. Garcilasso commences with the *religion* of the old Peruvians. Their gods were numerous enough; there were many not only to each village, hamlet, district, but to each family and hut; they presided over mountains, rocks, lakes, streams, plants, and stones. Many of their natural objects were adored; the emerald was adored; so were the lion, the tiger, the bear, and, indeed, every animated being that was to be dreaded. We may, however, doubt whether the *degree* of adoration rose so high as Garcilasso believed. He says, "If by any chance the people met a beast of prey, they did not flee from it; no, they knelt down on the ground to adore it, and allowed themselves to be killed and eaten, without the least effort to defend themselves." Here was devotion in perfection! They adored one bird for its size, another for its diminutiveness; this beast for its strength, that for its agility; this snake because it was twenty-five feet long, that because its bite was deadly. The condor and the eagle had another claim to veneration; they were held to be the progenitors of many tribes scattered throughout what was afterwards called the empire of Peru. "In short," says our native guide, "there was no animal, however low or vile, that these men did not worship." Again: "Some worshipped the earth, which they called *mother*, because it supplied their wants; others the atmosphere, because by it we breathe and live; some the fire, because it heated them." In the same manner, maize and vegetables of all kinds were adored, because of their utility. The fishes of the sea were adored by the inhabitants of the coast, for allowing themselves to be taken; and the sea itself, which they called *Mama-cocha*, or, *Our mother*, was held in extraordinary veneration.

The sacrifices of these people were more horrible than their religious notions: not occasionally, but very generally, they consisted of human victims. Captives taken in war were invariably offered to propitiate the deities; and when these could not be had in sufficient abundance, or, when the case was too urgent to admit of delay, men, women, and children, were selected from the tribe, and put to death. "The manner was this: while alive, their bodies were opened; the heart and lungs extracted; the blood, before it had time to cool, was made to besmear the idol; the palpitating members were then inspected by the augurs, to learn whether the sacrifice was acceptable or not: in either case, the heart and lungs were burnt in honour of the god; and then all present devoured the rest of the body with exceeding relish, and no less rejoicing,—even the father who feasted on his own son." In regard to the great bulk of captives, these sacrifices were not practised. It was not always that the will of the gods was required to be known, nor always that either

priests or people had leisure for long sacrifices. But the captive was no less an article of human food. If ignoble, he was merely cut into quarters, and divided among the victors; if a chief, he was tied to a pole, his flesh was cut from his bones in small pieces by women and children, no less than men, and eaten before his eyes. "What a sight!" says Garcilasso,—“a man to see himself eaten,—to see his flesh by piece-meal go down the throats of the bystanders!” “Incredible!” the indignant reader may exclaim. We beseech you, however, to suspend your ejaculations, and to read on,—for there is something yet to come more monstrous still.

From religion's cruel sacrifices, the good inca passes to the habitations, the government, the food of the ancients. The first were generally close together, for the sake of common defence amidst the wars which perpetually armed tribe against tribe, and hamlet against hamlet: but they had no squares, no streets, no method of constructing places of security. Some families lived on the summit of rocks, some in the valley, many in the recesses of forests, many in caves of the mountains, many under ground. Where every district was at war with its neighbour, any place less than usually accessible, was sure to be chosen. There was no hereditary chief; he who had the greatest courage was tacitly obeyed as the leader. Whether all these petty chiefs,—these *regecillos* as Garcilasso calls them,—had the degree of authority which he assigns them, may, perhaps, be doubted; but it is reasonable enough to infer, that whatever portion they had, they abused it. Tyrants are more frequent in savage than in civilized life; and where they have no curb, either of law or of opinion, they may riot at pleasure.—But the *food* of these Indians is the subject most shocking to European ears. Hear a Peruvian writer: “In many provinces, the inhabitants were exceedingly fond of human flesh, and so gluttonous, that, before the Indian whom they were killing, had time to die, they sucked his blood through the wound which they had given him: and this they did when they cut him in pieces,—catching every drop, and licking their very hands, lest any of the precious fluid should be lost. They had public shambles for the sale of human flesh.” “To such a degree was this fondness for human flesh carried, that they did not spare such of their own children as they had by women not of their own tribe,—by women whom they had captured in war. They did more; they gave to many of the male captives, not only life, but wives of their own nation, (the conquering nation) and the children issuing from such connections they reared as their own, until somewhat grown and plump, when they ate them. They had even colleges of boys and girls thus reared to be eaten: never did they spare the victims, either

through the relationship between them, or through fostership,—ties that produce affection even in animals of different races.” Nor did they always confine themselves to children whose mothers were of another tribe: sometimes they boiled or roasted those which they had by native women; and often they consumed their parents in the same manner.*

Though this horrible custom is not asserted of all the tribes, and was, perhaps, intended to be understood of the more savage only, still scepticism may naturally be felt as to its existence in *any* district or *any* tribe. Yet the evidence of tradition, so carefully adduced by Garcilasso, is triumphantly confirmed by writers, whose veracity cannot be disputed. If excesses nearly as horrible prevailed in the neighbouring regions, centuries after they had been banished by the incas from the soil of Peru,—if they existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; nay, if they exist at this very day—we may fairly conclude that they *once* prevailed in Peru; and, consequently, that our author neither invents nor exaggerates. Out of the numerous authorities, however, which might be adduced, in confirmation of his statements, we shall select two only,—both contained in the list of works at the head of this article.

From 1547 to 1555, Hans Staden of Homberg, in the principality of Hesse, was attracted, like so many other Germans, to the unknown regions washed by the river Amazon. He had the misfortune to remain a captive in the hands of an Indian tribe; and the manner in which he escaped the fate of other captives is, if entire faith is to be reposed in his relation, explicable only by that Providence which suffers not a sparrow to fall unnoticed to the ground. But whether, in this respect, his relation be entitled to implicit credit, or not, no doubt can be entertained of his intimate acquaintance with the savages in the interior of Brazil. His descriptions are too minute, too graphic, to be the work of invention. When any prisoners, he observes, arrive at a village, they are first beaten by the women and children: they are next covered with grey feathers, their eye-brows are shaven, and a dance is formed around them. Then they are

* “En muchas provincias fueron amicissimos de carne humana; y tan golosos, que antes que acabase de morir el Indio que matavan, le bebian la sangre por la herida que le avian dado; y lo mismo hacian quando lo iban desquartizando, que chupavan la sangre y se lamian los manos, porque no perdiese gota della. Tuvieron carnicerias publicas de carne humana.” “Crescio tanto esta passion, que llevo a no perdonar los hijos propios avidos en mugeres estrangeras,—de los que cantivavan y prendien en las guerras. Hacian mas,—que a muchas Indias de los que cantivavan les reservavan la vida, y les davan mugeres de su nacion,—quero decir de la nacion de los vencedores; y los hijos que avian los criavan como a los suyos, y viendolos ya crecidos, se los comian,” &c.—*Com. Real.*

bound, so as to be unable to escape, and, in this condition, are delivered to some females who become their temporary mistresses; should there be any offspring—a very frequent result—it is reared; and when the fit takes them, they kill and eat it. They feed all their prisoners well. At the end of a certain time, they prepare for the feast of the massacre: they make a liquor for drink. When all is ready, they appoint the day, invite the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to the feast, and fill the drinking vessels. Two or three times before the arrival of the fatal day, the prisoner is brought forth, and dances of joy are formed around him. The day before the drinking commences, which is always two days before the execution, a cord is tied round his neck—the club with which he is to be killed is carefully painted, and the process is accompanied by singing. The club being thus consecrated—for in most of the ceremonies there is evidently a religious meaning—it is suspended in the interior of a hut, and the singing is continued during the whole night. The next day is passed in drinking, and the prisoner is made to enjoy himself like the rest. Towards night-fall, another hut is erected in the centre of the place, and there the victim sleeps. Before day-break, the dancing round the club recommences; when the sun rises, the prisoner is brought forward—the hut destroyed—the open space cleared of the rubbish—the mysterious cord taken from his neck and tied round his body, and a heap of stones is placed near him. These he may use against the women who are waiting for his limbs. A large fire is then lighted within two yards of the victim; the club, adorned with feathers, is brought by a woman, who bids him look at it: a man then takes it, and displays it before him. The intended executioner is then greased and painted,—probably to enable him to escape in case he should be closely pressed by the victim. Receiving the club from the hands of an Indian, he approaches the prisoner, saying, “Here am I ready to kill thee! thy people have killed and have eaten many of mine!” The other generally replies, “My death will be revenged!” In a moment the executioner aims a deadly blow at the head of the victim, which seldom fails to scatter the brains on every side. The body is then seized by the women, who drag it to the fire, and scrape the skin so as to whiten it. The arms and legs are then amputated, and each of the members is carried by a woman in triumph round the huts. The body is then opened, and the horrid repast commences,—a repast described with such sickening accuracy by some writers, as to be intolerable in the recital.

The same circumstances are no less minutely recorded by Pero

Magalhanes de Gandabo, whose history of Brazil has obtained so much praise from Camoens, Pinelo, and Nicholas Antonio. We need not therefore repeat them; we shall only add, that the woman given to the victim was generally one of the youngest and fairest in the village; that the union between them generally continued a year; that sometimes, inspired by affection for her partner, she escaped with him into the woods.

These horrible customs, as we have already intimated, are related by the missionaries from Spain and Portugal, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If *their* authority should be disputed by some readers—for religious prejudice will go any lengths—perhaps that of living Protestant travellers will be received. The book of Lieutenant Smyth, published about a year ago, and relating to his own experience in the centre of South America, confirms, in the fullest manner, the account we have extracted from Spanish and German writers.

In all, then, that Garcilasso has said respecting the cannibalism of Peru before the domination of the incas, he is abundantly justified by inference. Probably he is no less so in some of his other statements; but scarcely so in all. It may be true enough, that in some tribes at least, a man might marry his near relatives; but we cannot believe that he was, in any place, allowed to marry his own mother. The sister or the niece, the aunt or the daughter-in-law, he might, and probably did marry; for we have instances enough of such connexions among savage nations. But the other connexion is so repulsive to nature, that we do not believe it ever existed in the wildest state of society. Another assertion, however, of this writer, may have a better foundation,—that in some tribes girls were valued, not according to their chastity, but to their notorious want of it. The indifference with which maidens were bestowed upon captives doomed to be eaten, is evidence enough of the little estimation in which chastity is held by savages. Indeed, it never was valued by them. The excesses of our sailors in the South Sea islands may be adduced as equally illustrative of this truth. Upon the whole, then, we may conclude, that the state of society in Peru, prior to the domination of the incas, was not much, if any better, than their descendant has represented it. To this subject we have paid the more attention, because a shallow philosophy has asserted that the natural state is, in most countries, and supereminently in Peru, the state of innocence and virtue.

II. The instruments by which these regions were reclaimed from the most savage barbarism to comparative civilization, can never be known. The tradition of the country—a tradition rife in the days of Garcilasso—is curious enough. The Sun, the great

deity of the world, seeing the dark ferocity of the people, had pity on them, and sent two of his children, a son and a daughter, to instruct, to reclaim, to govern them. The directions which he gave them for their conduct, have also been preserved. From the banks of the lake Titicaca—a lake which posterity regarded as sacred—he commanded them to pass through the country, and wherever they should find a large ingot of gold growing out of the earth, that place was to be chosen as the seat of their future empire. They were to rule in reason, justice, piety, benignity; to regard their subjects as children; to imitate their father, the Sun, who spreads his cheerful beams on the evil no less than the good, and who is the support of universal nature; to be in all things the benefactors of mankind. From the borders of the lake, the brother and sister, now husband and wife, proceeded northwards, until they reached the site of ancient Cuzco. There they struck the earth, and on the first blow being given, appeared the ingot of gold: there they established their seat. From thence the one travelled northward, the other southward, calling on the people to forsake their solitary haunts, to live in common, to subject themselves to the wise laws framed by the world's great deity, to forsake ferocity for mercy, darkness for light, misery for happiness. The appearance of these divine messengers, their countenances, their looks, their persuasive dignity, had great effect on the people, who hastened to the heaven-appointed spot, built houses, cultivated the ground in the neighbourhood, and thus called the imperial city of Cuzco into existence. While the monarch, Manco Capac, the first inca, taught the men the arts best suiting their strength and character, his sister and queen, Mama Oello Huaco, instructed the women in such as were domestic, especially in the manufacture of cotton and woollen garments. By the successors of Manco Capac, the empire was progressively extended, until it embraced a vast territory,—until brutal ignorance and ferocity were replaced by civilization and humanity.

This, being the tradition of the incas themselves, is entitled to some respect. Who these strangers were who thus laid the foundation of society in the New World, cannot, we repeat, be discovered. Conjecture, however, may amuse itself in the attempt. Did they come from Asia? The answer must, we think, be in the affirmative. There is considerable affinity between this tradition and the corresponding ones in the Old World. The Chaldeans boasted that their civilization, their learning, the origin of their society, were the work of a personage equally mysterious,—of one too, who came from a lake in Arabia. The Tartars, or at least one important nation of the race, had a

similar tradition; and the Chinese themselves assert that their first dynasty sprung from the embrace of a god with an illustrious female of their nation, on the banks of a lake. The sun, too, was the great divinity, not only of the Massagetæ, but of all the people of northern and central Asia. We all know the reverence in which it was held by the Persians. The Celts, whose cradle must be sought in the vast plains north of the Caucasus and the Caspian, brought the worship into Europe. The Goths, too, practised it; so did the Egyptians; so did the Phœnicians; so did three-fourths of the ancient world, whose origin was immediately derived from Asia.

When we consider that the tradition relative to the civilization of Peru was not an ancient one—that Manco Capac could not have flourished more than four hundred years prior to the Spanish invasion, since twelve sovereigns only had swayed the destinies of the country when Pizarro arrived, we may the more readily adopt it. It must, however, be regarded as the tradition of the dominant caste—of the family which civilized the kingdom, rather than that of the Peruvian nation. The latter people had one of their own, which appears also to have been received by some of the neighbouring tribes. According to them there was once a deluge—great, but not universal. When the waters had subsided, a powerful individual appeared,—whether mortal or immortal is not very clear,—and divided the whole earth (that is the South American Continent) between four great kings, each having a separate point of the compass. Among them was Manco Capac, the first inca, the founder of Cuzco and the Peruvian empire, whose actions, according to this relation, do not materially differ from those ascribed to him by the incas themselves. A third tradition, substantially the same, is perhaps of much higher antiquity. It speaks not of a deluge; but it tells us that at the beginning of the world, four men and four women, brothers and sisters, issued from the rocky caverns of the mountains in the vicinity of Cuzco, and spreading themselves to the east, west, north, and south, gave origin to all the tribes of the New World. The oldest of the brothers was Manco Capac; of the sisters Mama Oello; and to their superior dignity was assigned the richest and most extensive portion of the Continent.

Whatever might be the origin of the civilizers of Peru, they are entitled to the gratitude of posterity. Manco Capac, the first inca, was assiduous in the establishment of colonies in districts which war had rendered desert, in the encouragement of population, and in the diffusion of wise laws. He is said to have founded about forty pueblos, or communities (if such a term can

be applied to rural populations), all within a few leagues of Cuzco, the capital. Some of his laws may seem rigid, especially when we call to mind the past habits of the people. Adultery, homicide, open robbery, were visited with the last penalty. No man was to marry under twenty; because, prior to that age, he was unfit to discharge the duties of husband, father, agriculturist, and citizen. All people were to marry within the degrees of kindred, lest their race should be confounded. The flocks which wandered in the forests, were tamed, and became common property. Over each pueblo, or rural population, a chief was placed by the inca,—one noted for superior wisdom, and still more for superior humanity. All the males laboured together, and for the common weal; the produce of their labours being brought into one heap, and each man being allowed to take from it a portion commensurate with the wants of his family. That these regulations were excellently adapted to inspire with the love of society, men who had hitherto lived apart, who had dreaded their fellows, whose arm had been raised against one another, is evident. But the inca perceived that they were not enough. He knew that human laws alone, however good, however firmly executed, would not ensure social happiness: they might restrain from the grosser vices, but they could not touch the heart; they might influence the conduct, but they could not purify that which is the basis of all conduct,—inward principle. Hence the introduction of religion. The great object of adoration was the sun, which was regarded as the creator of all things. Whether this luminary was worshipped prior to the establishment of the monarchy, has been matter of conjecture. When, however, we consider, that legislators, both civil and religious, do not so much *create* as *direct* popular opinions; and that some great tribes of Southern America did actually adore that glorious luminary; we shall possibly be correct in supporting the affirmative of the proposition. If, as has been before related, almost every object in nature was converted by the early inhabitants into a divinity, the sun could not well escape the honour. But, from the time of Manco Capac, it was to be the supreme deity;—the one great preserver, no less than creator of the universe. Doubtless, that legislator and his sister-queen had been reared in this faith; and this affords a presumption that they, or their immediate ancestors, had not long departed from Asia. But it is equally clear, that they added much to the tenets which they had been taught to hold. Seeing the extreme barbarity of the people, and their amazing docility, the inca did not hesitate to proclaim himself and his sister as the Children of the Sun,—as the legitimate offspring of the deity,—as divinely commissioned to reform and

enlighten the world,—as entitled to unconditional obedience,—as themselves divine and worthy of adoration, though in an inferior degree. All the directions which he gave his new subjects, were, he affirmed, not his, but his great father's: if they were followed, happiness would be the result; a happiness that would continue to increase, until it should be pure and unmixed: if they were neglected, the divine favour would be withheld, and the nation would be replunged into the misery from which it was so painfully emerging.

Finding, by agreeable experience, the truth of his assurances, the people referred to his father the blessings they enjoyed: he had effected a moral revolution, so utterly unexpected, so very stupendous, that no doubt was entertained either of his divine mission, or of his divine character. Nothing, indeed, could equal the reverence with which he was beheld, alike by his contemporaries and descendants. Disobedience to his commands was held to be, not the violation of any human law, but resistance to the authority of God, and, therefore, meriting the severest punishment. Hence, when he ordered a temple of the sun to be erected in every rural population, with priests and vestal virgins to serve in them, he was promptly obeyed.

But if the nature of Manco Capac were thus divine, the assertion must be understood of his soul, not of his body. Like ordinary mortals, he grew old; and, like them, he felt the approach of death. If, however, he would preserve the ascendancy which he had acquired; if he would have the sceptre to remain in the hands of his descendants, he must not die exactly like the rest of mankind. He assembled his children and his chief vassals in his palace of Cuzco, assured them that he was summoned by his father the Sun, to leave this world, and enjoy eternal rest in that above: and the same words, we may observe, were repeated by every subsequent inca at the close of life. But before he revisited his celestial home, he would leave to his beloved children, and chief vassals, his natural councillors, an additional proof of his regard. All of them, and their male descendants after them, were to assume the awful title of *inca*, lord or ruler: since he loved even his chiefs as his own sons; what better proof of his benevolence than to call them by his own title? But the reader must be on his guard against confounding the various persons included under this denomination. The first who bore it was Manco Capac; and it was considered as peculiar to him, as the title of emperor to some other potentates. In the second place, it was applied to his sons, and their descendants,—to all males of the imperial family, whose blood on *both* sides was pure. These were the *natural* incas.

The third class, consisting of members not of the imperial family, were incas *by privilege*. The use of the word being thus indefinite, some epithet was necessary to designate the individual. Hence, the reigning monarch was styled *Capa Inca*, the only lord, the sovereign; and the princes of the imperial family had each some word associated with the generic one, explicit enough for the purpose. Yet the simple title of inca was one so honourable, that the few chiefs of the third class on whom it was conferred, and who had the privilege of transmitting it to their descendants, were enraptured with it. It placed them, so far as mere temporal dignity was concerned, nearly on a level with the offspring of the sun. "Our emperor," exclaimed they, "has not only changed us from wild beasts into men; not only has he taught us regulations for the social, and laws for the moral life; not only has he brought us into immediate connexion with our creator the Sun, and given us a participation in his temporal authority; to crown all, he has invested us, to a certain extent, with the awful attributes of majesty." In gratitude for such favours, there was no honourable epithet which they were willing to withhold from him. He was styled *Capac*, the rich, the magnanimous;—not rich in worldly substance, for all tradition affirms that he had none; but rich in the qualities of the mind and of the heart. Other words represent him as the friend, the benefactor, the father of the poor. On his bed of death, he is said to have left some good instructions to his legitimate, his bastard (for he had concubines enough), and his adopted sons. He told them that their first duty was to reduce the neighbouring tribes to their laws and religion; but the mischiefs which this ambitious command might have produced, were greatly diminished by the positive injunction, that their conquests must be effected by reasoning rather than by the sword. They were, in all things, to imitate their father the Sun, who shines with equal splendour on the good and the bad. They were to be the most diligent observers of the divine laws, and to take especial care that their deeds corresponded with their professions. "What Indian," observed the dying inca, "will believe you to be children of the Sun, if you say one thing and do another?" But these latter instructions rather applied to the offspring of Manco Capac, whom, after dismissing the chiefs, or incas of the third order, he retained in his apartment. And he is said to have inculcated the obligation of each imperial heir marrying a sister, in preference to any other female, that the purity of the divine blood might be the more rigorously maintained: if a prince had no sister, legitimate or illegitimate, then he was to marry his niece, or his first-cousin. This regulation, which was, as we all know,

general in ancient Egypt, was artfully devised; it could not fail to inspire the multitude with great reverence for the divine family. As in Egypt, too, it was partly founded on religious duty. If Isis and Osiris, brother and sister, were man and wife, so, in the Peruvian mythology, were the Sun, and his sister the Moon. But the Indians did not hold a female deity in much reverence: she had no powers other than those which she had received from the male god; nor do we know that a single temple, a single altar, was erected in her honour: it is doubtful, whether even a single prayer was addressed to her. In the same spirit, if the pallas, or princesses of the imperial family, married out of their lineage, the offspring did not participate in any of the privileges enjoyed by the children of the incas, or princes.

If the Peruvian tradition which fixes the reign of the first inca about four hundred years before the invasion of the Spaniards, be correct (and it cannot be very erroneous, when coupled with the other fact, that twelve monarchs were embraced by the same period), the reign of Manco Capac must be referred to the former half of the twelfth century. His death was long deplored. Divine honours were paid to him: animals and fruits were offered in sacrifice to him. Amongst these animals there might, for anything we know, be human victims. Garcilasso, indeed, has no allusion to such a holocaust; but, for obvious reasons, this writer is anxious to represent his ancestors in the most favourable light to Christian Europe. We know that, on subsequent apotheoses of the kind, human victims were not wanting;* though we *think*, that they were offered on no other occasion, and that the whole nation was singularly averse to the shedding of blood.

Manco Capac was succeeded by the inca Sinchi Roca, his issue by his sister-queen, Mama Oello, or Mama Cora, as she is styled by some writers; that is, by Our Mother the Queen. The meaning of the word *Roca* is unknown,—it is not to be found in the general language of Peru; and probably, as Garcilasso observes, it belonged to the peculiar language of the incas, the use of which is for ever lost. *Sinchi*, we are told, means *valiant*; but if so, it must, in the present case, have been applied rather to the mental than to the bodily character of this inca, who warred with no people. Yet he considerably extended the bounds of the new state, which, when he ascended the throne, did not stretch on any side farther than about eight leagues from the centre, Cuzco; but which, on his death, extended twenty-eight

* This is denied by Robertson, whose acquaintance with the early writers on Peru is exceedingly limited. It is affirmed by Xeres and others.

leagues,—at least in one direction. None of the savage tribes in these regions were, we are gravely assured, subjugated by the sword: no—reason and example, blessed by the Sun, were sufficient to reclaim them from their brutish state, and to incorporate them with the celestial monarchy! In vain should we attempt to fix the duration of his reign, or that of his father. Tradition on this point is not uniform; but that which estimates the latter at thirty-eight, the former at about thirty years, may be near to the truth. Like his father, he had many concubines, by whom he left a numerous issue; but the eldest of his sons, by his sister and queen, Mama Cora, could alone succeed him.

The third sovereign was Lloque Yupanqui, the Left-handed Reckoner. The former word sufficiently denotes the defect which the carelessness of his governors allowed him to contract; the latter alludes to his many great qualities, which included all that could be *reckoned* or enumerated respecting him. He did more to extend his territory than either of his predecessors. Reason and example might be very good weapons with *some* men,—but he knew that *others* required harsher treatment; and he sallied out from Cuzco, on his mission of civilization, with about 6000 well-armed followers. The result justified the innovation. The inhabitants of Cana, indeed, whom he first induced to forsake their beastly customs, to adore the Sun, and acknowledge him as the son of that deity, readily obeyed, declaring that the laws and customs which he introduced were far better than their own. Not so the Ayaviri, who refused to forsake their ancient gods, or to hold the slightest intercourse with him. A war ensued, which, from the extreme forbearance of the inca, was at first disastrous; but in the end, he allowed the sword to do its work, and the enemy was compelled to submit. Though he had thus reduced them, he would not punish them: all that he required from them was, that they would become his subjects on the same conditions as the rest,—obey the same god—observe the same laws—and adopt the same customs. From the scene of this new conquest, he dispatched his messengers to summon another people to obey the divine will. These were the Collas, who boasted of their descent from the Lake Titicaca, which they held as the chief of their gods. They offered no resistance, and in this respect they were imitated by most other tribes in the vicinity. So successful was this inca in his conquests and proselyting, that, towards the north, he incorporated about forty leagues with his kingdom, to the east, about twenty. For these exploits, no less than for his love of justice, and his care of the poor, he was held in greater reverence than any of his cotemporaries. On his death,—or, we should rather say, on his obeying the summons of his father,

by returning to his native heaven,—he was adored as one of the tutelary gods of Peru.

Mayta Capac, the fourth inca, persevered in the same course, and with the same success. When a nation refused to obey his summons, he caused it to be reduced; when it voluntarily submitted, he regarded it with peculiar favour. It is, however, to be observed, that, as the incas extended their conquests, they became more severe in chastising the refractory; and so far, consequently, they lost sight of the noble injunction bequeathed to them by the founder,—that, like their father the Sun, who shone equally on the good and the bad, they should be merciful to the very worst of mankind. To repair the desolation which he had introduced into some of the conquered districts, he colonized them by his faithful subjects from the vicinity of Cuzco. He built several towns, or, we should rather say, villages, and was the first Peruvian monarch that had science enough to throw a bridge over a river. Being more of a hero, that is, killer of men, than his predecessors, he was more successful than they in extending the bounds of his empire.

Of his son, nephew, and successor, the fifth inca, Capac Yupanqui, we have only to say, that he proceeded in the same course, and conferred equal benefits on the people. Westwards he carried his victorious arms to the ocean, and forced the savage tribes along the coast to acknowledge his authority. Some of them, we are told, were addicted to extremely abominable crimes, and by his orders were burnt alive. On his death, the Peruvian territory extended from Cuzco,—to the north, one hundred and eighty leagues; to the south, forty; to the west, sixty; to the east, thirteen. Hence we may infer, that, in this last direction, he made no progress, owing, probably, to the greater hostility of the people, and still more, to the natural difficulties of the country.—With equal brevity must we dismiss the next inca, Roca, the sixth monarch of the race, who differed little from his ancestors. He published a law that the children of the poor should not be permitted to frequent school, lest they should become proud, and refuse to discharge their menial duties. Of these schools we have a very imperfect idea: this is the first time we read of them; and we are not informed what was taught in them. Probably a knowledge of the laws, and of solar worship, was inculcated; and it is equally probable that some tincture of the military arts was communicated to the young nobles of Peru. We read, too, of astrology; and poetry was certainly not unknown. This monarch was something of a philosopher. “If I were obliged to worship any thing here below,” he was wont to say, “it should be the man of wisdom.” There seems to be

reason to doubt whether he held the Sun in as much veneration as most of his predecessors. He had some faint notion of a power still higher, which was called Pachacamac, the Soul of the Universe. What was this deity? Some of the Spanish writers tell us that it was a demon; but from better authority we learn that it was accounted a beneficent principle; that, by the *thinking* portion of the natives, it was held to be the Creator and Preserver of all things. The very name, we are told, was esteemed too holy to be pronounced. Certainly no temple, no statue, was erected in honour of this divinity, nor was one single prayer addressed to it. It was to be worshipped—if worshipped at all—in silent reverence.

The seventh monarch of Peru had a name regarded as ominous, Yahuar Huacac,—or the Weeper of Blood. It arose, we are told, from the fact of his one day, while a mere infant, emitting from his eyes blood instead of tears. In the estimation of the people, something dreadful impended over the offspring of the Sun; and after his assumption of the reins of empire, the public anxiety became greater. That he himself was not without his apprehensions, is evident, from his entrusting the command of his armies to experienced generals, while he was occupied in peaceful objects,—in the construction of large buildings, and the administration of the laws. But fate was not to be resisted. The eldest son and heir of the inca evinced from childhood a disposition that caused much affliction to all around him. He beat his comrades, tormented his servants, and behaved insolently or cruelly to every body. In vain did his father try to reclaim him, by placing before his eyes the opposite conduct of his predecessors; by shewing him that, in kindness of heart, and affability of manners, they had always excelled their very subjects. Nothing could move him. Despairing of his reformation, the inca resolved to deprive him of the succession, in favour of another son. He was expelled from the royal palace, and obliged to associate in the labour of some shepherds, who guarded the flocks consecrated to the Sun. He was now in his nineteenth year, and the loss of his birthright gave him no little affliction. How regain it? He resorted to a stratagem likely to influence the superstitious people with whom he had to deal. After an exile of three years, he one day appeared in his father's palace, and requested an audience, under the plea that he was the bearer of an important message. The inca, in great anger, sent him word that, if he did not instantly return to his solitude, he should be put to death,—the doom always inflicted on men who, even in the slightest matters, presumed to disobey the awful son of the sun. The prince, however, ventured to reply, that he had not

been actuated by disobedience; that he was merely the messenger of a power great as his father's; that he had been compelled to come; and that, if the inca still refused to see him, he would return and acquaint the potentate with the ill-success of his mission. Hearing these words, the inca was astonished. "Had he on the wide earth an equal? Who was he? Where was he?" The prince was admitted, allowed to prostrate himself, and deliver his errand. "Thou only, great sovereign, must know, that this very day, while reclining under one of the rocks which abound in the pastures of Chita, and while, in obedience to thy command, tending the flocks of our father the Sun (whether asleep or awake I cannot tell), there suddenly appeared before me a strange man, whose face and costume were very different from those of our day. His beard was a palm in length; his robe was ample and loose, and reached to his feet; and he led by the hand an unknown animal. He said to me: 'Kinsman, I am a son of the Sun, brother of the inca Manco Capac, and of his sister-wife Mama Oello Huaca, the founders of your dynasty; consequently, I am kinsman to you all. My name is Viracocha, and I come by the express command of our father the Sun, to bid thee repair to the inca my brother, and tell him that the greater part of the province Chinchasuyu, subject to his authority, and other parts which have never acknowledged him, are now in arms against him; that they are collecting a vast army, and will soon be on their march to Cuzco, to dethrone him, and destroy that imperial city. Wherefore see my brother the inca, and put him on his guard in this strait.'" Yahuar Huacac would not believe the story, and bid the prince instantly return to Chita, or his life should be the sacrifice of his temerity. But the members of the imperial family who happened to be present, advised the sovereign not to neglect the warning: it might come from the Sun—at all events, there could be no harm in preparing for the worst. The inca, however, was obstinate. But in about three months afterwards, a vague rumour was spread that an army of rebels, thirty thousand strong, was on its way to Cuzco. In great terror, and deeming himself unable to collect any force capable of resistance, he left the city, and betook himself to the mountains. The frightened citizens called on the exiled prince, who was known by the name of the fantom, Viracocha, to defend them. He obeyed the call; but in the first place, he hastened to his father, whom he reproached with abandoning the holy city, and on whom he still urged the duty of resistance. Finding his remonstrances vain, he went to Cuzco, accompanied by four thousand of the royal troops. To these he joined such of the citizens and of the rural population as were able to bear arms. But his

chief aid was in a friendly tribe, which sent its thousands to oppose the rebels. In the battle which ensued, he was completely victorious. Here was an end of the rebellion, and we may add, of the father's reign. Viracocha would allow of no ruler but himself; he alone would inhabit the imperial palace at Cuzco; and the dethroned inca was made to pass the rest of his days in a rural fortress.

That Viracocha, knowing the aversion of his father to him, actually fomented the rebellion of which we have spoken, is evident. He thus obtained the renown of a prophet, no less than that of a conqueror. If we except this undutiful act, and the hypocrisy which accompanied it, we have little to condemn in his conduct. He was an active, a valiant, an enlightened monarch; and what is more to his credit, he laid aside his cruelty, his unbecoming insolence. He is said to have uttered the remarkable prophecy,—that a day would come, in which the religion and the offspring of the Sun, would be destroyed by a strange and distant people. Like many other prophecies, this, no doubt, was made after the event: we mention it, because it confirms the opinion entertained of this monarch by his descendants. On his death, divine honours were paid to him, and sacrifices were offered to him during a whole year. These sacrifices, unhappily, were not merely of beasts and birds. The most beloved of the inca's women, the most favoured of his servants, were buried with him, that they might administer to his pleasures or his wants in the next world. Sometimes the victims, as Garcilasso confesses, were numerous; but then he assures us, that they were all voluntary,—an opinion contradicted alike by reason and by fact.

Pachacutec, the eighth inca, added many tribes to his empire. Like his immediate predecessors too, he built temples and fortresses, multiplied and enlarged his villages, and was successful in crushing the rebellion of the barbarous people who had been compelled to obey the children of the Sun. And he introduced many new laws, in respect both to crimes and morals. From his sayings, a few of which have been preserved, we may infer, that he was one of the greatest and wisest of his race.—We select five.

“Envy is a cancer which consumes the entrails of him who receives it.”

“He who envies, and is at the same time envied, is doubly wretched.”

“Adulterers are robbers of the worst kind, since they deprive families of peace: hence they must suffer death.”

"The noble-minded man is best known by his fortitude in adversity."

"The judge who receives presents is a robber worthy of death."

Yupanqui, the eldest of the three or four hundred sons left by the late inca, succeeded to the throne, and considerably augmented his dominions, especially on the Chilian frontier. He too is highly praised for his love of justice. The next successor,—the eleventh from the great Manco Capac,—was Tupac Yupanqui, who proceeded in the career of conquest. The most important of his acquisitions was Quito, a kingdom about seventy leagues in length and thirty in breadth. But it was slowly obtained, though forty thousand Peruvians followed the standard of their monarch. During the hostilities, which occupied nine years, he sent for his heir, Huayna Capac, that the young prince might acquire experience in the military art; and so well did the latter acquit himself, that he was soon left with the sole conduct of the war,—the inca returning to Cuzco. Three years more sufficed for its conquest; but we may doubt whether it ever would have been conquered, had not its valiant monarch died, without male issue to succeed him. The generals of Quito immediately submitted, and assisted him in the conquest of some neighbouring tribes, the names of which had hitherto remained unknown to the Peruvians. Full of glory, Huayna Capac returned to Cuzco, where he was received with unusual honours. Before his departure, he had married according to custom, his eldest sister: he now married the second, simply because he had no son by the eldest. No prince could be heir to the throne of the Incas, whose father and mother were not equally the children of a monarch, and consequently brother and sister. But the sterility of the first queen was painful to the imperial family and the people: it was a novel event; and some kind of apprehension began to be felt, lest the second sister should also be barren, and the divine race of the Sun become extinct. To avert this evil, as Huayna had not a third sister, it was resolved, that he should be allowed also to marry his first cousin, the daughter of his uncle, and that both should be considered as legitimate wives, and their offspring as eligible to the throne, as if they were the issue of the eldest sister. This innovation, as we shall soon perceive, led to a greater.—Tupac Yupanqui lived to a good old age. That he had a mind superior to most of his people, is evinced by his doubts as to the divinity of the Sun. In short he was a philosophic sceptic,—a rare merit in one of his age and country. "It is said," he one day observed, "that the Sun is a living deity, and that he is the

creator of all things; yet when any thing is created, surely the creator must see the work of his own hands. But many things are made which the Sun does *not* see, and therefore he is not the creator of *all* things." This was one of his illustrations; but he had another equally characteristic of a thinking barbarian: "That the Sun is not a living being, may be inferred from this, that he *never tires*. If it were animated with life as we are, like us it would experience fatigue." Take a third: "If the Sun were a free-agent, he would visit other parts, were it from curiosity merely, and not run eternally in the same line."

Huayna Capac, the twelfth inca, was the most powerful and the most celebrated of his race. Lord of regions so extensive, of a numerous army, and of faithful vassals, he aimed at a magnificence of which none of his ancestors had ever dreamed. And by his subjects, he was certainly regarded with superior veneration. Even Garcilasso allows that he was, during his life,—from the very commencement of his reign,—worshipped as a god. Wherever he appeared, the ground was strewn with flowers, triumphal arches were erected, and hymns chaunted to greet the present deity. But he had not so high an opinion of himself, or even of his country's god, the Sun. Like his father, he was sceptical enough. During a great festival, held in honour of that luminary, while the assembled priests and augurs stood around him, and thousands of other eyes were fixed upon him, he was observed to look attentively at the Sun. This profane act, which was absolutely prohibited by the laws, scandalized all present. "Inca," said the high-priest, who was one of his uncles, "knowest thou not, that thou art doing that which is forbidden?" The monarch looked downwards for a moment, but only to lift them with greater boldness towards the luminary. "Sire, our sovereign lord?" rejoined the priest, "to look at our Father the Sun is prohibited as a great impiety; and by so doing, thou givest a bad example to all who are assembled for the worship of the Supreme." Turning round to the royal priest, the monarch observed; "I will ask thee two questions: I am your emperor, and universal lord; would any one among you be so rash, as to bid me rise from my seat, and undertake a long journey?" "Who that ever lived," replied the other, "would be so mad?" "And is there one among the chiefs of my kingdom, however rich and powerful he may be, who would disobey me if I commanded him to set out for Chili without a moment's delay?"—"The man lives not," replied the priest, "who would hesitate to sacrifice his life, if thou shouldst command him!"—"Then I tell thee," rejoined the inca, "that our Father the Sun must have a master,—one greater and more powerful than he,—a

master who bids him perform his daily task, without resting. If he were truly the Supreme Lord of nature, he would one day or other rest, if it were only for his mere pleasure." This barbarian was a better reasoner than his father.

In his public administration, and his military exploits, Huayna Capac was not unlike his predecessors. Like them he made new laws, added new districts to his empire, and reduced such tribes as rebelled. Of the nations conquered by him, the Mantas, next to the people of Quito, were the most considerable. They lived on the sea-coast, adored the ocean as their common mother, but acknowledged many other gods, as lions, tigers, snakes, &c. One of their chief divinities was a great emerald, which on public days was adored by multitudes, and to which sacrifices were offered. The crafty old cacique of the place, contended that the offerings most agreeable to this god were smaller emeralds, which were its children. The people, with all their religion, were guilty of extremely abominable crimes; and so we may observe, were many of the American tribes. If tradition were entitled to any weight, there were once giants in the region south of Chili. This, we suppose, has given rise to the fable of the Patagonian giants, which fills a place in the relations of even modern voyagers. For their abominable practices, says Garcilasso, they were destroyed by fire from heaven; and their huge bones, whitened by that element, may still be found in that region. Hence the Terra del Fuego, or country of fire,—a more satisfactory explanation of the name than those usually given.

But if Huayna Capac was a great warrior, he was a poor statesman. He had ventured, soon after the conquest of Quito, to marry the daughter of the deceased monarch, whom the great bulk of the nation recognized as heiress to the throne. Perhaps to this alliance, more than to the success of his arms, was owing the submission of that extensive region. The marriage, however, could not be held valid by the Peruvians: the princess of Quito was regarded as merely the concubine of their inca; and the issue could not have any claim to the throne. All the youths who derived their being from the inca,—if their mothers were of the humblest grade of society—were indeed revered as participating in the divine blood of Manco Capac; but all were not equally respected. If, as was generally the case, the concubine was of the imperial family, her son was held in far greater estimation than if she were a stranger; and for the obvious reason, that by both his parents he was descended from the heavenly source. Princes who had this double claim, were venerated as more than men; as at least a kind of demigods. Where the mother was the legitimate wife and sister of the

monarch, the feeling approached to adoration. The offspring of the inca's marriage with the heiress of Quito, was regarded only as a mortal prince. That offspring, Atahualpa, was doomed to a painful immortality in the annals of Peru. He was, however, the best beloved of Huayna's children, and the capital of Quito was more agreeable to him than his hereditary Cuzco. For this youth the inca would gladly have removed from the succession Huascar, his son by the second of his sisters, and consequently the heir to the throne. But such was the force of public opinion, so awful was the reverence in which the pure race of the Sun was held by the whole empire, that all-powerful as he was—god on earth as he was reputed to be—he dared not openly violate the established law of succession. He resolved, however, to invest his favourite son with Quito, over which, as his own conquest, his rights were, he thought, omnipotent. Yet he would not take this step without the consent of his legitimate heir, and of the imperial family. He summoned them to his palace at Quito, and in their presence opened the important subject. From the foundation of the state, he observed, it had been the invariable custom to incorporate every new conquest with the original territory of Manco Capac, and to regard the whole as integral and inalienable. Huascar, therefore, by a fundamental law of the monarchy, was the heir of Quito no less than of Peru. But he frankly acknowledged his affection for Atahualpa, and entreated the consent of Huascar to the cession of Quito. Such was the respect with which the wishes of the inca were received, that the prince readily agreed to his father's prayer, and Atahualpa was immediately invested with the lieutenancy of Quito, and recognized as the successor of his father. In Quito, Huayna Capac spent the remainder of his life; the government of Peru being entrusted to Huascar. Perceiving his end approach, he called his sons and his chiefs around his dying bed, and confided to their care the interests of his beloved son. They were to obey him as their lawful inca, within the boundaries of Quito, which he had amplified in his behalf. He commanded that his body should be opened; that his heart and bowels should be buried at Quito, while the rest of his corpse should be taken to Cuzco, and laid with the ashes of his ancestors.

Some time after the usual sacrifices were offered to the memory of the deceased inca, the empire began to be agitated by the ambition of the two brothers. Huascar was taught to believe that it could not be dismembered even by the command of an inca; that *he* was the only legitimate king of Quito; and that his most urgent duty was to reclaim at least the superiority over that kingdom.

But he perceived how necessary it was to proceed with caution in an affair which might lead to a ruinous civil war. His first step was to send a prince of his family to Atahualpa, who should expose the injurious policy of the late monarch in dismembering the empire, but who should at the same time say that he would recognize his brother as king of Quito on two conditions. The first was, that the kingdom should not be aggrandized by new conquests; and that whatever territories might be subjugated by the unaided arms of Atahualpa, should be incorporated with the government of Cuzco. The second was, that this prince should do homage for Quito itself, and acknowledge himself to be merely the regal lieutenant of Huascar. Atahualpa saw the danger which menaced him; but as he excelled in dissimulation, he replied with the profoundest submission, that in his heart he had always owned the superiority of his brother; that he willingly avowed himself a vassal of Huascar; that if the sovereign of Cuzco wished it, he would even resign the lieutenancy of the kingdom, and retire into private life. The answer pleased Huascar so much, that he recognized his brother as king of Quito; and only required, that within a given time the latter should repair to Cuzco, and do homage in person for that important fief. In this letter the inca was perfectly sincere: indeed, as he had carried his point, he could be no other than satisfied. But it was in a very different spirit that Atahualpa promised to obey that command, as well as every other command that the inca, his sovereign lord, should be pleased to dictate. One request, however, that he might be allowed to celebrate, at Cuzco, the funeral rites of their father, with such a retinue as became so great an occasion, might surely have opened the eyes of the inca. But Huascar, who believed his brother to be as sincere as himself, readily agreed to it. Atahualpa, who had long resolved to dethrone the inca, commanded his subjects to accompany him to Cuzco, for the ostensible purpose of doing homage. But he ordered his generals to see that under the garb of peace, each soldier should conceal the weapons of war. With a veteran army, thirty thousand strong, he proceeded from Quito, and advanced towards Cuzco. But the provincial governors of Huascar, through whose jurisdiction Atahualpa, passed, were alarmed at the appearance of so vast and so well disciplined a host, which they suspected was intended for something more than mere show, and which certainly was ten times greater than was required for the ostensible occasion. This suspicion they communicated to the inca, who was more alarmed than they. He summoned all who depended on him to join him with their forces without delay. As many as were in the vicinity obeyed; but

the warning was too short for a successful resistance. The troops of the monarch of Quito—he himself remained near the frontier, more perhaps from cowardice than from any other cause—now advanced with greater celerity. A battle ensued, in which Huascar was vanquished and made prisoner. Intelligence of this great victory being sent to Atahualpa, he summoned all the members of the imperial family to appear at Cuzco, under the pretext that he wished their advice in respect to the restoration of Huascar. All, except the infirm and the aged, obeyed. It was now that the real character of Atahualpa was displayed. The kindred and chiefs of the imperial prisoner being assembled on a plain near Cuzco, Huascar was brought from his prison, and with fetters, in deep mourning, was made to appear before them. The sight, so unexpected, so affecting, of their captive monarch, was too much to be borne. They adored him as he was led through their ranks, and they proved that their attachment to him was a thousand times stronger than it had ever been in the days of his prosperity. But little time was given them for sorrow: they were soon put to death, in presence of their afflicted master, by orders of Atahualpa.

Not satisfied with this cruelty, the victor assembled the *coyas* and *pallas*, that is, the imperial princesses, and put them to death also, with circumstances of cruelty so great as to be incredible, were they not attested by eye-witnesses. His vengeance next fell on all who had shewn any zeal for Huascar; and, at length, it descended to the very domestics of that monarch. No monster ever surpassed Atahualpa in cruelty; and he was the more to be dreaded, from the profound dissimulation with which he covered his designs. His antipathy against the imperial family is easily explained. So long as any prince remained whose parents were *both* connected with the blood of the incas, *he*, who had derived his existence from a foreign princess, would never be universally acknowledged as Inca Capac, or successor of the great Manco. So long even as any prince, who, on the paternal side only, could boast of the divine blood, was suffered to exist, that prince would be his rival. Hence his determination to destroy all, that he might be the only surviving member of the family. He murdered the females no less than the males; for might not any one of them happen to have issue? and if that issue were of the divine family, on the maternal side only, still it would be regarded with some degree of reverence by the people; while *he* could not fail to be laden with execration by the whole empire. His purpose, however, was not completely successful. Some of the princes and princesses escaped. Among them, was the mother of the writer to whom

we are indebted for many of the preceding facts. She was the niece of Huascar, the daughter of one of his brothers, and, consequently, the grand-daughter of the great Huayna Capac.

It was during the hostilities between the two brothers, that the Spaniards, under Pizarro, invaded the country, subverted the empire, and destroyed the religion, of the incas. Before, however, we proceed to this the third part of our subject, we shall make a few additional observations on Peruvian society.

The religion of the incas is the subject most likely to arrest the reader's attention. Garcilasso assures us that the Sun was the only object of adoration. To the great bulk alike of priests and nation, that luminary appeared as the supreme god; but we have already alluded to a greater,—Pachacamac, the mysterious soul of the world, whose superiority was recognized by the few, but to whom no temples were raised, no prayers addressed. And it is certain that other deities were acknowledged. The stars, for instance, were regarded as the children of the Sun and the Moon; and, like their mother, they were held in veneration, though we have no positive information that they were adored. Yet the homage paid to them must have been great. Even the living inca was adored; so was the heir to the throne: and his brothers were received by the people in a manner bordering on adoration. And, at a later period, we have the testimony of eye-witnesses, to prove that temples were erected in honour of other deities than those we have enumerated. Of this fact, an illustration shall be given in the next division of our subject.

That temples of great extent were erected in honour of the sun, is well known. Where there are temples, there must be priests. They were first instituted by Manco Capac; but his successors improved his rude outline of worship into a complete system. The priests of the great temple at Cuzco, were always incas of the imperial family: the head of them was generally brother or uncle of the reigning monarch. The priests of the numerous provincial temples were also incas, but not of the divine race; they were those made by privilege,—those whom Manco Capac created. The sacrifices which they offered, consisted of agricultural produce, of beasts, birds, and other animals. Garcilasso is very angry when told that human victims were sometimes offered; yet there seems to be no reason for doubt on the subject. We *know* that they were immolated on the death of the reigning monarch; and that the reason assigned for the cruelty was, the necessity of his being attended, in the other world, in a manner suitable to his dignity. With this fact before us, we may well be inclined to admit the assertion of several writers, that, on *other* occasions of extraordinary importance,

similar holocausts were provided. They were offered to the Sun alone—at least, in ancient times. The moon being the wife; the stars, thunder, and lightning, being the children of that luminary, were also represented in the temple, which had separate apartments for them. All animals sacrificed were opened, and their entrails inspected by the augurs, who predicted from appearances very similar to those which influenced the pagans of Greece and Rome. The entrails were then burnt on the altar, the fire being previously derived from the sun by means of a brazen lens, which concentrated the solar rays, and set fire to some cotton placed in the focus. The rest of the body was eaten by the assembled people; nor was drinking forgotten. The inca, seated on his throne near the altar, invited his great chiefs, one by one, to pledge him; and each thus honoured, advanced, and reverently took the cup from his hand; while the monarch held another, which he put to his lips, but which he seldom tasted. The princes of his family, at command, then went to the incas by privilege, and said, "The emperor invites thee to drink with him!" The man approached the throne, and received the cup from the right or left hand of the monarch, according to his dignity. The custom was the same with the hereditary caciques, and the governors nominated by the sovereign. But in regard to the inferior vassals, there was a different custom. They were not allowed to approach the majestic host; the messenger,—generally one of their own grade,—bore two cups, and having repeated the formula, "The emperor invites thee to drink with him!" drank from one, and the guest drank from the other. The person thus honoured did homage three times by kissing the air, a homage rendered to the Deity just the same as to the inca.

The Peruvian religion had its virgins, no less than its priests; all consecrated to the Sun, and doomed to a life of chastity in the vicinity of the temple, but in houses inaccessible to the priesthood as to every other male. They were chosen for their beauty or birth, generally before they had attained eight years. All were, on one side at least, connected by blood with the imperial family, and all born in wedlock. These ladies, exiled from the world into the remote cloisters of the House of the Sun, could be visited only by the queen and her daughters, or such other ladies as received the previous consent of the inca. They were, however, not very solitary, if it be true that, besides a host of other domestics,—all females,—they were waited on by five hundred noble damsels. The administration of the house rested with the old recluses, who were called Mamacunas, or matrons. The occupations of these pagan nuns were spinning, weaving,

and making garments for the Sun, which, as he of course was unable to wear them, were given to his children the incas. They prepared, too, the consecrated bread and drink for sacrifices. To them no access could be gained. There was a tremendous law against the recluse who violated her vow, and her accomplice: *she* was buried alive; *he* was hung over her grave: but would the death of two only satisfy the sun for the infidelity of his *wife*? The parents, relations, friends, servants, of the guilty, were to be executed; their houses razed to the ground; the very place which they had polluted by their presence, to be left desolate! This punishment was so terrible, that we may be sure it was seldom inflicted: Garcilasso says, *never*; but then he is equally sure that the crime was never committed.

There were other recluses besides those consecrated to the sun. Many houses were devoted to the maintenance of virgins who were to become the wives or concubines of the sovereign. To preserve their purity, they were taken from their parents at a very early age, and educated in these houses until they were called to ascend the bed of their lord. They were watched with the same jealous care as the virgins of the sun. The noblest maidens in the land, and, still more, their kindred, thought themselves honoured by the choice. When once they had entered the walls of the inca's palace, they could not return to the house of virgins. Nor could they marry after the inca's death. Death, in its most horrible shape, would have been the penalty of such a step. It was called adultery, and adultery against the awful majesty of the sun. The crime, however, could not well be committed, as these ladies were closely guarded in the palace after the inca's death, and occupied in domestic duties.

The Peruvians acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body. The soul they held to be distinct from matter; and the human body they called by the expressive name of animated clay. In the world after this, they admitted rewards for the good, and punishment for the bad. The universe they divided into three worlds. There was the *hanan pacha*, or lofty world,—the heavens, destined for the residence of the virtuous. There was the *hurin pacha*, or world of generation,—the world in which we mortals live. There was the *ucu pacha*, or world below, situated in the centre of the earth, and frequently called by another name, signifying the devil's house,—this was reserved for the wicked. But the region of spirits was not a spiritual—it was a corporeal world, like the present one. In the upper world, the region of the blessed, happiness was believed to consist in tranquillity of mind, in exemption from all labour and care, from all sickness and pain. In the lower, chastisement was

thought to consist in trouble of mind, anxiety, labour, sickness, sorrow, and in "all the ills which flesh is heir to." But the resurrection formed the most curious part of the Peruvian creed. The body and soul must rise; but not to enjoy either happiness or misery in the world above or the world below. No; they must rise for this world only—to follow the same course of existence as they followed when on earth. For this reason the natives were loth to disturb the bones of the dead. They were to remain in the same place, and in the natural position, that when the soul revisited them, it might have no trouble in finding the different members. When a Peruvian lost a hair, a nail, or a tooth, he concealed it with much care, that when he returned to earth he might know where to find it. Whether the good were to rise no less than the evil; whether, if the evil only revisited the earth, they were to have another chance of becoming virtuous, and consequently happy in the world above; whether the duration of the second life in this world were to be longer or shorter than at present, are facts which Peruvian theology does not explain. Nor is it possible to say whence they derived their notion of a resurrection, so different from that of other people. Nor do we know what precise ideas they attached to the notion of the soul. We know only that it was held to be very different from the body. In the opinion of all it could not sleep, like the bodily house which it inhabited. Dreams were only the experience of the soul separate from the body, which was every night deserted by its ethereal tenant.

For the *political* institutions of the Peruvians we must refer the reader to Robertson, whose rapid summary, though by no means accurate, is sufficiently so for general reference. But if it were more inaccurate than it is, our contracted limits would not permit us to correct or expand it. For the same reason, we must pass over many of the *social* customs, which, however interesting, could be developed only in a book especially devoted to the subject. We may, however, observe that the Peruvians had a species of knighthood; that noble and royal youths were armed after rigorous fasting, and more rigorous exercises; that these exercises consisted in running, wrestling, fighting, &c.; that the exhortation to a life of virtue, justice, and mercy, was given by the inca himself, who at the same time delivered to the novices the chief symbol of the state. Other princes of the imperial family delivered the rest in succession.

The *science* of the Peruvians has been much overrated. In military exercises, indeed, they excelled all the people of the South American continent; so they probably did in medicine; so they certainly did in computation of time; and in some other

branches of knowledge, as arithmetic, geometry, and music, they were undeniably superior to the rest. Still their intellectual stores were meagre; they kept no register of events; they were ignorant of the art of writing; they had no traditional order of bards or historians, to transmit great deeds to posterity. They could melt all species of metals; and from the fluid ore they could fashion such instruments, whether domestic or warlike, as they required; but these were exceedingly rude. In music they made some progress; and they indulged in poetry, though not so passionately as the European people. One or two specimens may be seen in Garcilasso, but they have little merit. The reader who is curious to see what the Peruvian mind was capable of effecting, may look into Robertson.

III. But to most readers, the relation of the conquest of Peru by a handful of Spaniards, may form the most attractive division of the present article. In it we shall not follow guides who wrote nearly a century after the event: our chief authority shall be an eye-witness, Francisco Xeres, the secretary of Pizarro, whose *Relacion* was published at Salamanca in 1547,* while most of the great actors in the scene were still living. If Xeres be accused of something like partiality in the cause of the victor, it should be remembered, that, at the very time the book appeared, Pizarro was in no great favour with the government of Spain.

It was in November 1524, that Pizarro, accompanied by only one hundred and twelve men, left Panama in quest of some rich country to the south-east. His first expedition, as every body knows, was fruitless. Another, in the following year, disclosed to the adventurers the existence of a richer country (Quito) than any they had yet seen on the shores of the Pacific. In 1526, the Peruvian coast was first unfolded to the view of Europeans; but where could the force be collected sufficient to justify its invasion? The visit of Pizarro to Spain in 1528, procured him the empty title of Adelantado, or governor-in-chief of the country he had discovered; but not a soldier, not a dollar, to aid him in subjecting it to the authority of the emperor. It was not before 1531 that he had collected in Panama about one hundred and eighty soldiers, who boldly set out for the conquest of an empire which had frequently sent 50,000 men into the field! Subsequently, indeed, he received a slight reinforcement; but at no time prior to the fall of Atahualpa did his followers number two hundred and fifty! The Island of Santiago was taken without difficulty; a descent was made on the continent; Tumbez was destroyed; and a for-

* It had, however, we are told, been published at Seville some years before. We have only seen the edition of Barcia, "Historiadores Primitivos."

trellis built, or rather strengthened, near the mouth of the Piura, which was honoured by the name of St. Matthew. Here Pizarro resolved for a time to watch the course of events. He was perfectly well acquainted with the civil war then raging between Huascar and Atahualpa, and on this circumstance, no doubt, he founded his hopes of success. The caciques in the neighbourhood, he summoned, characteristically enough, to acknowledge Don Carlos, the august emperor, as their only liege superior, and, at the same time, commanded all to become faithful sons of our holy mother the Church! The latter mandate was not understood,—the former was disputed; and hostilities commenced, which ended in success to the invaders. Here he learned that Atahualpa was encamped in the valley of Caxamalca, about fifteen days' march from St. Matthew. With the boldness for which he was conspicuous among a nation of bold men, he resolved to go in search of the inca, whom, if he could get into his power, he would treat as Cortes had recently treated Montezuma, the sovereign of Mexico.

It was on the 24th of September, 1532, that Pizarro departed on this perilous enterprise. His force amounted to sixty-seven horsemen, and one hundred and ten foot soldiers, and of these, nine returned to St. Miguel in about four days. Some of the caciques, however, received him favourably. They were devoted to Huascar, and were consequently the mortal enemies of Atahualpa, who had just overrun their country, and committed cruelties worthy of his cause. But to the envoys of the latter inca, he held a very different language: he was the *ally*, the *friend* of Atahualpa, and was hastening to Caxamalca to give the most convincing proofs of his attachment. Both were equally hypocritical; both professing the strongest wish for peace, while they were meditating each other's destruction. To his companions, Pizarro made no secret of his resolution to dethrone the inca, and to annex Peru to the other possessions of Spain. On his passage, if the following extract be true, he found a more striking proof of Peruvian idolatry than we have elsewhere seen:

"They (the inhabitants between Caxamalca and San Miguel) have disgusting sacrifices, and idol-temples, which they hold in great veneration. Here they offer their most valuable effects. *Every month* they immolate their own children, and with the blood of the victims paint the faces of the idols, and the doors of the temples. These edifices they convert into tombs, and fill them with corpses from the floor to the roof. They often sacrifice themselves, laughing, dancing, and singing, at the very moment they strike the fatal blow: often, too, they drink largely, and then request some one to cut off their heads."

Either Xeres must be mistaken as to the frequency of these

oblations, or Garcilasso, with most of the early Spanish writers on Peru, must have represented the religion of the incas in colours much too favourable. We are disposed to conclude that such offerings took place on the death of the sovereign, of some inferior inca, and perhaps of the hereditary cacique of the place where the temple stood. Though, according to the native writer we have so often quoted, they were allowed, on the death of the inca Capac only, there is reason to infer that they were much more frequent. Every prince of the reigning family was believed to participate in the same divine nature, and to be entitled to make his appearance in the other world in a manner superior to other men. And the rural caciques, whose power was equal to that of these princes, and who were often connected by marriage with the race of the Sun, would not be slow to imitate the example,—to demand human victims at their own apotheoses. This is the only rational way of accounting for the frequency of human sacrifices, unless, indeed, we suppose that there were in the empire many districts which preserved their ancient idolatry, and which the reforms of the incas could not reach.

Wherever Pizarro advanced, he heard of Atahualpa's cruelties—of whole communities, thousands in number, being put to the sword for no other crime than that of suspected attachment to the cause of Huascar. It was on the 15th day of November, 1532, that Pizarro reached Caxamalca, from which the army of Atahualpa was distant about a league. Why the inca had made no effort to oppose the march of the Spaniards, is not very clear. Perhaps he expected to find in the Christian chief, what he had been taught to expect, a friend and ally; perhaps he despised the handful of men who thus presumed to penetrate into the heart of the country. In the square of the city, Pizarro found a fortress of considerable strength. This he made stronger still, and then invited the inca to come and see him. The messenger whom he first dispatched on this occasion, soon reached the quarters of Atahualpa:—

“The tyrant was at the door of his tent, seated on a high seat: a great number of Indians, men and women, were about him, all standing, and nearly surrounding him. On his head was a woollen cap, which might have been taken for silk, about two hands high, and tied by little cords which descended to his eyes: this made him look more grave than he really was. He held his eyes fixed on the ground immoveable. When the captain was in presence of the monarch, he intimated, by an interpreter, that he was an officer of the governor, who had sent him on this visit, and to express the great desire which the governor had to see him; that the latter would be exceedingly glad if the inca would see him at Caxamalca. Many other things were spoken by the messenger; but

Atahualpa would not deign to lift his eyes, or to reply, though a cacique spoke for him."

At length, however, the dignity of the inca so far gave way, that he spoke, and even smiled. He had, he said, an enemy in a powerful cacique: would Pizarro put all the Spaniards in march to fight the rebel? "What need of *all* the Spaniards for so trivial a service?" was the reply. "Ten of the number will be fully equal to it." Here the inca could not avoid smiling, doubtless at what he considered a vain boast. However, he treated the envoys well, and promised to visit the Spanish governor the following day. And well he might; for thirty thousand men were supposed to be encamped round him. Early the next morning, a messenger arrived at the fortress from Atahualpa, saying, "My sovereign informs thee that he means to visit thee, but he will come with his armed men, as thy men came to his camp yesterday!" "Let him come as he pleases," was the reply: "I will receive him as a brother and friend!" Shortly afterwards a second messenger arrived, to say that the inca would not bring his armed men, but a simple retinue only, unarmed, to wait on him, and that he wished to lodge in the house of the Serpent. It was, however, soon perceived that this was all a feint: the plain between the city and the camp was immediately covered with the soldiers of Atahualpa, drawn up in columns. The situation of the strangers was a critical one. Their chief ordered every man to be under arms, and all the horses to be saddled and bridled. The pieces of cannon were pointed towards the plain, ready to be discharged at a moment's notice. The greater part of the Spaniards were then put in ambush along the streets leading out of the square; twenty men only remained with Pizarro in the fortress, and their charge was to seize Atahualpa, if treachery should be designed. Not a soldier in or out of the fortress was to move until a signal was given. The discharge of the artillery would shew that mischief was designed: then the men in the fortress were to mount their horses; those in the streets were to join them; and all were to rush on the enemy, while the ordnance did its part. The rest must be told in the words of Xeres:—

"The governor, perceiving that it was near sun-set, that Atahualpa did not advance, and that he was continually joined by more troops, desired him, by a Spanish messenger, to enter the place before night-fall. When this messenger was in presence of the inca, he saluted him, and motioned that he should go towards the governor. The prince acceding, began to march with his soldiers. Those of the advanced guard had weapons concealed under their garments, which were a kind of stout shirts; they had also slings and stones, which shewed their bad intentions.

The moment he advanced guard entered the place, a troop of Indians, clad in a sort of livery similar to the squares on a chess-board, marched into to prepare the way. They were followed by three other bands, clad differently, who sang and danced; then came a number of men covered with armour, wearing crowns of gold and silver. In the midst of these was Atahualpa, in a litter adorned with parrots'-feathers of all colours, and with plates of silver and gold. He was borne by a great number of Indians, and was followed by four other litters, filled by persons of distinction. Lastly, came a multitude of other people in columns, wearing crowns of silver and gold. No sooner were the leading corps entered into the place, than they removed a little to make room for those who followed. When Atahualpa arrived among them, he ordered all to halt, his litter and the other litters still remaining elevated. Soldiers continued to arrive, and one of the chiefs in the advanced guard was seen to approach the fortress where the artillery was concealed, and thrice to raise his lance, as if intended for a signal. When the governor perceived it, he asked friar Vincent de Valverde if he would go and speak to Atahualpa by means of an interpreter. The latter consented, and advanced, holding in one hand a crucifix, in the other a Bible. Passing into the ranks of the Indians, he reached the emperor, and said,—‘I am a priest of God! I teach Christians the things of God; and I come to teach you also. I teach that which God himself has communicated, and which is written in this book. In this capacity I beseech thee, on the part of God and of the Christians, to become their friend: Heaven wishes this, and if thou obeyest, it shall be well for thee. Go and speak with the governor, who is waiting to receive thee!’ Atahualpa desired to see the book, and it was presented to him shut. As he could not open it, the monk held out his hand to shew him how it should be held, when the inca gave him a slap on the arm, in great disdain, and then trying to open it, he succeeded. He was not, like the other Indians, astonished either at the letters or the paper; and he threw it five or six yards away from him. He replied haughtily to the monk’s discourse,—‘Well do I know the excesses you have committed on your route, how you have killed my caciques, and pillaged houses.’ The friar replied,—‘The Christians have not so acted: some Indians, indeed, without the governor’s knowledge, brought certain articles, but he returned them.’ ‘Well,’ rejoined Atahualpa, ‘I shall not stir from this place until you have restored every thing!’ He then stood up in his litter, and exhorted his people to be ready; while the friar returning to the governor, related what had passed, and how Atahualpa had thrown the Holy Scriptures on the ground. In a moment Pizarro put on his cuirass, took his sword and shield, and followed by the twenty Spaniards whom he had retained near him, passed through the crowd, and courageously came up to the litter of Atahualpa, —four only of his men being able to penetrate so far. Without the least fear, however, he seized the inca’s left arm, crying ‘Santiago!’ Instantly the artillery was discharged, the trumpets were sounded, while horse and foot left their places of retreat. No sooner did the Indians perceive the horses advance at full gallop, than they left the square, and fled with so much precipitation, that they forced the palisades which defended the

city, and many tumbled over one another. The horsemen rode over them, killing and slaying them, and the fugitives were pursued. Those who remained in the square were charged with such fury, that, in a short time, most were put to the edge of the sword. During all this time, the governor held Atahualpa by the left arm, unable to pull him from his litter, which was too high for his reach. To bring it to the ground, the Spaniards slew many who carried it; and if the governor had not protected the inca, he would that day have been punished for all his cruelties. In defending him, Pizarro was slightly wounded in the hand.

"During the whole time of this action, no Indian used his arms against the Spaniards,—so great was their dread at the sight of Pizarro, of the horses at full gallop, and at hearing the thunder of the cannon. These were new things to them, and they tried to flee rather than to fight."

That this was a dreadful day—one for ever disgraceful to the arms of Spain—nobody will deny. But was it so wholly unprovoked as the historian of America would have us believe? That the reader may, without trouble, compare the relation of *an eye-witness*, with that which Robertson derived from writers *long subsequent to the event*, we give the latter in a note.* Among these subsequent writers,—subsequent by nearly

* "Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dress, as barbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than 30,000 men.

"As the incadrew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicegerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the King of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the King of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

"This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so tamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted

a century—was Calancha, whom the celebrated Scotchman almost exclusively followed in this part of his work.

There is nothing in all history to be compared with this day's transaction. Thirty thousand men dispersed by less than two hundred, a great monarch made prisoner, a great empire subverted, without the loss of one single life on the part of the assailants! This one fact makes us doubt, notwithstanding the positive assertion of Xeres, whether *any* of the Peruvians were armed; if they were, assuredly they were the greatest cowards the world has yet seen.

The behaviour of Pizarro to the dethroned inca was in the highest degree brutal. His dissimulation, which was equalled only by his courage, was not always proof against the native ferocity of his character. As gold was the principal object, both of himself and his followers, the inca was assured of freedom,

with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the inca, that its general tenour was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it up to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians! to arms! the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs!"

"Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the inca."

whenever a suitable ransom was brought. The riches which had already been found in the camp of Atahualpa and the city, might have satisfied the victors; but he was to furnish, in addition, as much gold as would fill a hall twenty-two feet long, and seventeen feet wide, from the floor half way to the ceiling; and as much silver as would twice fill the room. He was told, that if his messengers produced the quantity within two months, he had no more to fear. They were accordingly dispatched, and their success was prodigious; it was evident, that the amount, though incredibly great, would be collected. The chiefs on every side flocked to see him :

"Atahualpa was about thirty years of age, of a good look, well made, rather stout, with a handsome but cruel countenance, and with eyes full of blood. He spoke, like a great lord, slowly and gravely, and he reasoned very well. The Spaniards who heard him judged him to be a man of wit. Though cruel, he was jocular; even when he spoke harshly to his subjects, he betrayed his inward disposition to humour.

"When the caciques of the country round heard of the governor's arrival, and of Atahualpa's captivity, a great number came with the most dutiful sentiments to see the monarch; some had under their jurisdiction as many as thirty thousand souls, all his subjects. On reaching the presence of their sovereign, they respectfully saluted him; they kissed his feet and hands, while he did not so much as even look upon them. His severity, and the absolute obedience of his subjects, were truly surprising. Every day presents were brought to him. Prisoner as he was, he had a monarch's retinue, and seemed cheerful."

Though it is impossible to doubt that the fate of Atahualpa was deserved, he certainly hastened it by his own conduct. In the first place, he evidently instigated the Peruvians to rise, and to fall on their invaders. Intelligence of men arming on every side daily reached Pizarro. In the second, he ordered his captive brother Huascar to be put to death—an order but too promptly obeyed. This atrocity rendered him no longer an object of sympathy to mankind; he who experienced the iron yoke himself, might surely have been expected to feel for a brother. His days were, however, numbered. Hearing from the Indians that a formidable army was approaching the place, Pizarro brought the captive before a tribunal of Spaniards, who were to try him for treason towards his liege lord the King of Spain! The farce was soon ended; Atahualpa was condemned to be burnt alive: but, in order to arrest this horrible death, he consented to be baptized, and was hung instead of burnt. Eternal the infamy that must attach to the memory of Pizarro and his companions! We can have no pity for Atahualpa—we cannot drop a tear at his fate; but the insolence, the haughtiness, the rapacity of the

invaders, towards, not only him, but the natives generally, must be branded by history until time is no more !

Such is the account which impartial justice records of the fate of this empire. In how much it differs from that given by Robertson, may be seen by comparing the two. To have pointed out the individual discrepancies might have appeared invidious, and would certainly have been wearisome.

In conclusion, we may add that the Spaniards, until their purpose was attained, allowed a prince of the reigning family "to wear the shadow of a crown." But he too was a captive, though nominally at large. The course of rapacity, and of torture to discover concealed treasure, still proceeded, until the ministers of the Church were settled in the country, and until the government of Spain, by successive edicts, vindicated the rights of the natives. The efforts both of Church and state, especially of the former, to protect, to encourage, to elevate, to render happy, the subjects of the incas, have not received their due praise in Europe. If our limits would permit, we should have no difficulty in proving that in thirty years after the death of Atahualpa, Peru began to experience a happiness to which it had been a stranger under the best of its native monarchs. Its condition in everything was amazingly improved; and eventually the Spanish yoke proved, instead of a curse, the greatest blessing that could have befallen the nation.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Athenian Captive.* A Tragedy, by T. N. Talfourd.

2. *Woman's Wit, or Love's Disguises.* By J. S. Knowles.

A noble attempt has been made by Mr. Macready to revive the ancient splendour of the drama, by restoring to us the plays of Shakespeare in all the unsurpassable beauty of the author's original idea; and by substituting for the bustling excitement of the melodrame, the charm of finished correctness and propriety in the dresses, scenery, and other accessories of the piece;—thus raising the theatre to its proper level, as one of the fine arts—or rather an amalgamation of them all; where music and painting occupy their proper stations—heightening, filling up, and throwing a tender lustre over the conceptions of their true inspirer, their aim, and their directress—Poesy;—in which the intricacies of human character and the force of its passions—"its strength to suffer, and its will to serve"—its lighter graces, and its absurdities, shall all be portrayed, and the picture receive

its finishing and life-like touches from the acting of individuals the most susceptible of impressions, and the most formed to convey them of any of their species—for such should an actor be. It was to be expected that such an attempt as this would excite the sympathies of men of genius, and accordingly we have here a tragedy and a genteel comedy, written by the first dramatic authors of the day, and both avowedly with the intention to assist Mr. Macready in his lofty purpose. We wish that we could give them all the praise that their excellent intention and unquestionable talent would seem to demand. But we can do no more than acknowledge their merit; we cannot anticipate their immortality—we cannot rivet them in our memories, or return to them with delight. Where is the creative power, where is any thing approaching to it, which could fill with such thronging, busy phantoms, the

“Unworthy scaffold—the cock-pit—
The wooden O”

which Shakespeare had at his command. *Our* authors have all the aids that consummate machinery, science, and taste can give; but there is timidity and restraint in their efforts, and we miss the life and energy that should fill out the design. The defect of both these pieces is a want of power and depth of feeling; our interest is not excited, either by the characters or the story. How this great deficiency in those who profess so much is to be accounted for, whether it is their fault or that of the audiences to whom they address themselves, that unconsciously reacts upon their genius, we cannot say; but which ever it be, it throws a shade of discouragement over the future prospects of the drama. For certainly we cannot expect soon to see equalled, the classic learning—the elegant diction—the high idea of moral beauty which is conspicuous in Talfourd's writing; or the free, rich, descriptive dialogue of Knowles. With such powers at their command—with the mechanism of their art so perfect, what might we not have hoped for? What new realms of life and character—of pathos and sublimity, might we not have expected to see opened to us? and how grievous is it to stop short of them!

We will proceed to give a short analysis of Mr. Talfourd's Tragedy.

The story of *The Athenian Captive* is shortly told. The life of Hyllus, the son of Creon, king of Corinth, is saved by Thoas, an Athenian, during a battle between the nations; this Thoas is afterwards made prisoner, and brought before the old king, who, at the intercession of his son and his twin-sister, Creusa (smitten with love for the captive), consents to spare his life, but on the

condition that he shall become a slave; he is prepared fiercely to prefer death, when a word from the queen (Ismene, Creon's second wife) changes his resolve, and he becomes a slave. Hyllus and Creusa soothe his mortification; a second time he saves the prince's life; but on being required to hand round a libation to be drunk to the downfall of Athens, he bursts into an ecstasy of indignation, and the king, instigated by his wife, condemns him to a cell under the rock—there to await his death; and banishes Hyllus, who has interceded for him. This brings the story nearly to the middle; and so far, nothing can be more simple, less complicated, or more entirely dependent for its interest upon the working out of the feelings of the different personages. But the conflicting emotions of the prisoner, the love of Creusa, the gratitude of Hyllus, are faintly, and as it were conventionally, pourtrayed. In the second part of the story, the queen takes a more leading part, and there is something in this character that rivets the attention, and is capable, we think of much greater developement than it has received. Thus she tells her story:—

“ I was pluck'd
From the small pressure of an only babe,
And, in my frenzy, sought the hall where Creon
Drain'd the frank goblet; fell upon my knees;
Embrac'd his foot-stool with my hungry arms,
And shriek'd aloud for liberty to seek
My infant's ashes, or to hear some news
Of how it perish'd;—Creon did not deign
To look upon me, but with reckless haste
Dash'd me to earth: Yes; this disgrace he cast
On the proud daughter of a line which trac'd
Its skiey lineage to the gods, and bore
The impress of its origin,—on me,
A woman, and a mother!”—p. 54.

Creon brought her to Athens, and married her; but she says,

“ If this slight king,
In the caprice of tyranny, was pleas'd
To deck me out in regal robes, dost think
That in his wayward smiles, or household taunts,
I can forget the wretchedness and shame
He hurl'd upon me once?”—p. 54.

On the contrary, she has—

“ Not wasted all the shows of power
Which mock'd my grief; but used them to conceal
The sparks which tyrant littleness had lit,
And sloth had left to smoulder.”—p. 50.

She has urged the Athenian to live, that she may find in him

an avenger; with this view, she has steeped him in the bitterness of slavery, and procured his condemnation from the ungrateful king:—

“There is softness in thee,
Weakening thy gallant nature, which may need
The discipline of agony and shame
To master it. Hast thou already learn’d
Enough to steel thee for a generous deed;
Or shall I wait till thou hast linger’d long
In sorrow’s mighty school? I’m mistress in it,
And know its lessons well.”—p. 47.

She proceeds to tell him,—

“But who knows,
Who guesses, save the woman that endures,
What ’tis to pine each weary day in forms
All counterfeit;—each night to seek a couch
Throng’d by the phantoms of revenge, till age
Find her in all things weaken’d, save the wish,
The longing of the spirit, which laughs out
In mockery of the withering frame! O! Thoas,
I have endured all this; I, who am sprung
From the great race of Theseus!”—p. 48.

This exposition of her views and feelings, following up the old king’s account of her, and the magnificent description which seems to reveal her nature to us in the early part of the play, form the ground-work of a noble tragic character:—

“Rarely will she speak,
And calmly, yet her sad and solemn words
Have power to thrill and madden. O! my girl,
Had not my wayward fancy been enthrall’d
By that Athenian loveliness which shone
From basest vestments, in a form whose grace
Made the cold beauty of Olympus earth’s,
And drew me to be traitor to the urn
Which holds thy mother’s ashes,—I had spent
My age in sweet renewal of my youth,
With thought of her who gladden’d it, nor know
The vain endeavour to enforce regard
From one whose heart is dead amidst the living.”—p. 7.

“At stern Minerva’s inmost shrine she kneels,
And with an arm as rigid and as pale
As is the giant statue, clasps the foot
That seems as it would spurn her, yet were stay’d
By the firm suppliant’s will. She looks attent,
As one who caught some hint of distant sounds,
Yet none from living intercourse of man
Can pierce that marble solitude. Her face

Upraised, is motionless ; yet, while I mark'd it,
 As from its fathomless abode a spring
 Breaks on the bosom of a sullen lake,
 And in an instant grows as still ;—a hue
 Of blackness trembled o'er it ; her large eye
 Kindled with frightful lustre ; but the shade
 Pass'd instant thence ; her face resumed its look
 Of stone, as death-like as the aspect pure
 Of the great face divine to which it answer'd.
 I durst not speak to her."—p. 7.

But when the character should receive its completion, when the long-suppressed passion, the burning thoughts, should find expression, when strenuous action should take place of the stony hardness with which she has been hitherto invested, she falls short of all our anticipations. She hears the story of Thoas, and knows him to be her son ; yet we are not sure that she has recognized him, till, when he has left her, she tells it to Calchas, with a—

" Wish me joy, old servant ;
 What dost thou think of him who left me now ?"

She has pointed out to Thoas an escape through the chamber of the king, making him swear to kill the first who shall oppose him. As she anticipated, the king awakes, and is killed by the escaping captive. Considering that this king was at war with his nation,—had twice condemned himself to death,—and that it was even now a question which of the two should die, we cannot think that the feelings of human nature, under the influence of the morality of those times, would have driven Thoas to frenzy, in which state we next find him. But this frenzy is laid aside like a glove,—the maddening crime he unaccountably forgets ; he returns to Corinth at the head of an Athenian army,—conquers it, with a heart " too light—too jocund—to admit another touch of ecstasy ;" and does not recal the past, until reminded of it, by the invitation of the queen to hold a conference with her. In this conference she reveals herself to him in her true character, and as his mother ; but he has so completely resumed his remorse, that the feelings of nature are lost, and the mother and son are engaged in a cold and painful dialogue, when they are informed that the Oracle has decreed that the death of Creon shall be avenged,—that the two nations have laid aside their arms, till justice has been done—and that the queen is pointed out as alone able to declare the murderer. In the temple of Jupiter the Avenger, all the parties meet. The queen, solemnly appealed to, rises and confronts Thoas ; but unable to pronounce the fatal word, she points to Hyllus, and falls insensible. Thoas

does not avow himself: coming forward with his mother, he argues with her, and seeks to prevail on *her* to give him permission to save the innocent Hyllus, by criminating himself. But this she refuses, and the discussion weakens and fritters away the interest of the scene; yet there are in it some passages of great beauty:—

“Thou art brave,
As fits a matron of heroic line;
Be great in penitence, and we shall meet
Absolved, where I may join my hand to thine,
And walk in duteous silence by thy side.

ISMENE.

“And couldst thou love me then?

THOAS.

“Love thee! My mother,
When thou didst speak that word, the gloom of years
Was parted,—and I knew again the face
Which linger’d o’er my infancy,—so pale,
So proud, so beautiful! I kneel again,
A child, and plead to that unhardened heart,
By all the long past hours of priceless love,
To let my gushing soul pass forth in grace,
And bless thee in its parting!”—p. 99.

Hyllus is led to the altar, when, at that moment, Thoas stabs himself—declares his crime—and dies, after hearing that his mother has entered the poisonous cave under the temple; and Creusa, whose feelings have been throughout too vacillating, and too feebly marked, to excite much interest, is left weeping upon the shoulder of her brother.

We think we have done justice in our extracts to the beauty of many passages in this play. It is not so easy to convey the general impression of tameness in the characters, and heaviness in the conduct of the piece, which will, in our opinion, prevent its being a lasting favourite.

We have said that both these pieces fail in power to interest the feelings. With all its beauty, the *Tragedy* is wanting in the most essential requisite for that purpose—energy, and depth of feeling. In a like degree, though in a different manner, the *Comedy* wants the intricate and well-combined story,—the well-imagined character,—and the playful and pungent humour, that, in its own style, should rivet the attention with equal power.

Woman’s Wit is a comedy in five acts; but in spite of this pretension, and of some really fine writing, it is no more than an elegant trifle. Nothing can be more inartificial than the plot, which is made up of two stories so extremely alike, that they

seem counterparts of each other, and so unconnected, that they might easily and advantageously form two separate plays. As, for instance, Hero, the first heroine, offends her lover, Sir Valentine, by her indiscretion in the waltz; Helen, the second heroine, is suspected by her lover also for an indiscretion; the same gentleman—Lord Athunree—being the accuser of the one, and the offending partner of the other: both ladies are forsaken on the instant. Sir Valentine meets Hero again, dressed as a Quakeress, and falls desperately in love with her: Walsingham meets Helen in the disguise of a boy, and conceives a violent friendship for him. Both ladies, of course, plead their own cause. Hero, as the Quakeress Ruth, compels her lover to renew his offer to Hero, which he does—is accepted—and discovers, to his great surprise, that he has been faithful in his infidelity. Helen (accompanied by Walsingham as her second) challenges Lord Athunree to a duel; but on the ground, the fight is interrupted, and they are commanded to keep the peace in “God’s name and the queen’s:”—

“Stop; you are all our prisoners, sirs,
Sir William Sutton’s warrant makes you so;
Which here I show to you; surrender then,
And to his niece’s bear us company.”

At the house of Sir William Sutton, (Hero’s very silly uncle,) all the parties meet, we believe for the first time, and the fainting Helen is justified by Lewson, the agent through whose means Lord Athunree had involved her in suspicion. The same villainous, yet somewhat tame personage has formed a plan for carrying off Hero by force, and in this also, Lewson was to have been his assistant; but he being seized with remorse, relinquishes the plot upon the one lady, and exposes that upon the other; thus forming the only connecting link between the stories. Nor is there much interest in the characters, to counterbalance this defect. Hero is a fine girl, but her character wants variety, she does not change with her changed appearance, and therefore, there is not much in her transformation, to amuse us, or to give plausibility to the credulity of her lover.

Sir Valentine is quite preposterous; in one interview, he falls so vehemently in love with the Quakeress, as to give up his title, make over his fortune, change his dress, and his name—nay, his religion, for he turns Quaker—to please her; and in the next scene, we find him in considerable doubt whether, he would wish to be accepted or refused by Hero. Helen is by far the most poetical personage in the play. But the absence of those higher requisites for comedy, in which we consider this piece to be deficient, is in some degree atoned for by the beauty of the lan-

guage. It is easy, ornate, and elegant, not calculated perhaps to express energetic passion, not flexible enough for lightness and humour, but almost unrivalled in description; take for instance that of the dance :—

LORD ATHUNREE.

“ Her waist was in my custody ;
Her white arm hanging from my shoulder, where
Her hand did freely couch. ‘ Your game goes well !’
I whisper’d her ; ‘ play boldly, and ’tis your’s :
The measure this to set the outline off !
Give sway to thy rich figure ! Abandon thee
To the spirit of the dance ! Let it possess thee ! stud
Float thee as air were footing for thee ! stud
Thy cheeks with smiles of fire ; and give thine eye
The lightning’s dazzling play ! fix them on mine,
That each do feed the other’s, like to tongues
With converse waking converse ! ”

FELTON.

“ Well ?—I see
Thy drift ! ”

LORD ATHUNREE.

“ Thou should’st have seen the issue on’t—
While, like a pupil at a task he loves,
Whose aptitude with eager will outstrips
His master’s bidding, she was twenty times
The thing I wished her ! How she rose and sank
With springy instep, while her yielding waist,
Well as her waving neck, her beauteous head—
Did show her fair, and falling shoulders off !
A world she looked and moved of passionate
Quick sense—of loveliness and joyousness,
And I, be sure, did show its reigning lord !
Nor with the measure did dominion cease ;
But when her drooping lids, relaxed steps,
Disparted lips, and colour vanishing,
Gave note she must give o’er—her languid form,
Close girdled by my arm, her hand in mine,
Her cheek for pillow on my shoulder laid,
I led her to a couch, where courtesy
Of course admitted tendance ! ”—p. 8.

The portrait of the master, from whom the disguised Helen learns the art of fencing, is free and spirited in its touch, conveying a most pleasing idea—and the more so, as the author tells us it is drawn from a living model :

“ A noble fellow that !—A soldier who
A mighty captain follow’d, for the strides

With which he led to glory—nay, from them
 Deserted not, when fortune backed a world,
 Marshall'd against her cast off favourite !
 Talk you of scars ?—that Frenchman bears on crown,
 Body and limb, his vouchers palpable,
 For many a thicket he has struggled thro'
 Of briery danger—wondering that he
 Came off with even life ; when right and left
 His mates dropp'd thick beside him. A true man !
 His rations with his master gone,—for he
 Was honour's soldier, that ne'er changes sides,—
 He left his country for a foreign one,
 To teach his gallant art, and earn a home.
 I know him to be honest, generous,
 High souled, and modest : every way a grace
 To the fine, martial nation, whence he sprang !" —p. 20.

Under this accomplished teacher, Helen practises fencing ; and the intensity of her desire for vengeance, is more powerfully conveyed in the following short passage, than in all the speeches she makes herself throughout the play :—

DE L'EPÉE.

" Yes ; by his looks he has a teen or twain
 To count ;—tho' never scholar study plied
 With manlier resolve and constancy,
 It often moves my wonder, that so slight
 And delicate a frame should undergo,
 What to robusteur mould a thousand times
 I have mark'd was weariness. Scarce lays he down
 The foil, before he takes it up again,
 Some parry, feint, or lounge, unmaster'd yet,
 To practise ;—which he does with zest so keen,
 I have thought, at times, that in his fancy's eye
 There stood before his point an enemy,
 The actor of some unatoned wrong,
 Whose heart each thrust was meant for.—p. 19.

We must give one more passage, the description which Walsingham gives to the disguised Helen of her likeness to her former self, in which the traces that sorrow leaves upon a young fair face, are exquisitely and pathetically rendered :—

" Hast thou never
 Remark'd me gazing in abstraction on thee,
 As tho' upon perusal of thy face,
 While seem'd mine eye intent, my soul did pore
 Upon some other thing ?—I have done it oft—
 Will do it once again ! Your eyes are her's,
 In form and line, but sunk ; a darkness too,
 Sits not disparagingly tho'—neath thine ;

Her's were two starry brilliants set in pearl !
 The outline of the nose is quite the same,
 But that of thine is sharper—'tis thy sex,
 The mouth is very like—oh, very like !
 But there's a touch—a somewhat deep one too—
 Of pensiveness. The cast of her's was sweetness,
 Enlocking full content. The cheek is not
 At all alike !—'tis high ; and lank below,
 And sallow—not a dimple in't—all contrast
 To the rich flower'd and velvet lawn of hers.

* * * * *

I spoke not of thy hair—it is a wood
 Run wild compar'd to her's, and thrice as deep
 I' the shade.—Yet, you are very like her !—p. 107.

We shall now take our leave of these two eminent authors, regretting that our observations have not been more entirely favourable ; but in the confident hope that their career is far from closed, and that we shall yet receive from them works in every respect worthy to be placed amongst the choicest treasures of our literature.

- ART. IX.—1. *Ensayo sobre la Supremacia del Papa, &c. Essay on the Supremacy of the Pope, especially with regard to the Institution of Bishops.* By the Rev. Dr. Joseph Ignatius Moreno, Archdeacon of the Metropolitan Church of Lima, Author of the "*Peruvian Letters*." Lima. 1836.
2. *Panegirico de la esclarecida Virgen Santa Catalina de Sena, &c. Panegyric of the glorious Virgin Saint Catherine of Siena.* By Dr. D. Miguel Calixto del Corro, published . . . principally for the purpose of inspiring a mortal hatred of the monster Schism, and of convincing all men of the necessity of obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff, for the maintenance of true Catholicism, and the obtaining of life eternal. Buenos Ayres. 1837.
3. *Reflexoes imparciaes sobre a Falla do Trono e as respostas das Camaras legislativas de 1836. Impartial reflections upon the speech from the throne, and on the addresses in reply from the legislative chambers of 1836.* Rio de Janeiro. 1837.
4. *Resposta do Provincial dos Franciscanos do Rio de Janeiro, &c. Answer of the Provincial of the Franciscans of Rio de Janeiro to the questions treated in the memoir sent with a message from the government for his opinion.* Rio de Janeiro. 1837.

5. *Memoria sobre o Direito da Primazia do Soberano Pontifice Romano, &c. Memoir upon the Right of Primacy of the Sovereign Roman Pontiff, in the confirmation and canonical institutions of all Bishops.* Translated from the French. Rio. 1837.

6. *Selecta Catholica.* No. 8. Rio. 1837.

THE learned author of the first work on this list, remarks that amongst those who take up his work, there will be some, "who valuing only what comes from Paris or London, will throw it aside for no other reason but that it is a work written at Lima, and contains no curious narratives, no flaming theories, and no capricious novelties in matters of religion, philosophy, politics, or finance."—(p. xiv.) To us these are the very circumstances that particularly interest us in his work, and in the others now lying before us. To find, in works published beyond the wide Atlantic, the very faith that is taught not only in London or in Paris, but in Rome itself, free from the slightest trace of that novelty which is impressed upon every institution in the new states of South America, defended and illustrated with a learning, a zeal, and a generosity which would do honour to any country in Europe,—is to us really refreshing, and a source of sincere gratification. Gladly as we should hail such works, if published in Paris or London, they have for us a special charm from the distance they have travelled.

Authority is not generally supposed to act in a ratio inverse of distance from its centre, especially that which has no fleets or armies to support it, but only the influence of moral arguments and feelings. That Great Britain, mistress of the ocean, and the Tyre of modern nations, should keep in subjection countries remote as the antipodes, can scarcely be matter of astonishment; her thousand prowess not only bear, but can enforce her commands. And yet the more distant parts of her transmarine possessions have more than once given proof, that when consciousness of strength has reached its proper pitch, there will be a tendency in them to break the connecting link,—the cord, so to speak, which supplied the vital energy from the circulation of the mother country, and to assert an independent individuality of existence. But the Sovereign Pontiff,—*His* vicar, whose kingdom is not of this world,—unarmed with temporal power, beyond the narrow limits of his states, without recourse to spiritual weapons—for with one grand exception, the thunderbolts of the Church's anathemas have been laid up for many days in her arsenals,—he maintains undisturbed his sacred dominion from east to west, and need not fear its overthrow, either from the caprice of rulers or from the growing independence of spirit in distant nations.

We believe we are correct in asserting, that the separation of the Spanish dependences from that country, was hailed by bibli-cals, missionary societies, and other brokers in religious stock, as producing a new and favourable market for their wares. Bales of bibles, and chests of tracts, were poured in with every fresh supply of Birmingham hardware or Manchester prints, and every commercial envoy had a *vis-à-vis* on his voyage in the shape of a religious agent. Toleration—that is, the free importation of all the brawling sects that tear one another to pieces in England, was confidently anticipated; and a country just cleared of monasteries could not but be considered in prime condition for a crop of presbyterianism or bible reading.* But seriously speaking, appearances foreboded not well for religion. The Holy See, with every other European power, hesitated to break its harmony with Spain, for the recognition of the embryo republics, which disputed more among themselves than with the parent land. The succession of bishops was almost if not entirely interrupted, and Spain claimed the right to nominate to the vacant sees, while the revolted provinces refused to accept of its nominees. The hatred towards Spain caused the banishment of many clergy and religious, who were natives of that country, and thus the supply of ecclesiastics was become very scanty.

It was natural to expect that, while affairs were in this condition, some would be found to re-echo, in the western hemisphere, those doctrines of religious independence which in some parts of the eastern had been considered a part of the code of political liberalism. And no doubt, to many who understand not the spirit of the Catholic religion, an ardour for civil freedom, with an equal zeal for subjection to a foreign Pontiff, may appear an anomaly. The objections made by the See of Rome to the repeated applications for bishops, so long as the struggle continued between the parent country and its dependencies, was naturally displeasing to the latter; and a party arose, that desired to see the Churches of South America established on the

* At a meeting of the Bible Society in September, 1824, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, (Ryder) is reported to have "congratulated the meeting upon the prospect now opening to their view in Columbia; and contrasted the *progress which the society was now making in that newly-formed government* with the spirit of bigotry and persecution that disgraced the first introduction of Christianity among that people. The consequence was, that despotism, civil and religious, had covered that land, and impaired her moral energies—had made it the seat of superstition—the very fastness of Papal power: (cheers,) but the storm had at length subsided, and they were now permitted, under the guidance of Him, 'who guided the whirlwind and directed the storm,' to spread through that country the glorious tidings of 'peace on earth, and good will towards men.' " (cheers.) In a part of the report read at this meeting, it is said that the fields of South America are "already white for the harvest." See report of the meeting quoted from the *Morning Chronicle*, in *Colbetti's Weekly Register*, September 18, 1824.

model of the schismatical one at Utrecht, paying merely a nominal submission to the successor of St. Peter. These dangerous principles were fanned from without. The restless politician, M. de Pradt, addressed the Mexican government, while it was treating with Rome for the appointment of bishops, exhorting it to make such a concordat with the Holy See, as should leave it for the future independent in the election and institution of bishops, and in the government of the churches; and should the Holy See refuse, as was naturally to be expected, then to make every protestation of fidelity and union, and proceed to nomination without its concurrence. In this wicked proposal another unfortunate member of the same school, the Canon Villanueva went farther still. For, in a work of which thousands of copies were disseminated over all the new states, he denied even the necessity of the preliminary step recommended by De Pradt; and amidst a torrent of abuse against the Popes, and a futile attempt to show that they have never held themselves bound by their concordats when made, advised the infant republics to assert their ecclesiastical together with their political freedom.

Fortunately, good sense, as well as sound religious principles, ruled in the councils of the states; not one swerved from its duty. They preferred waiting with patience till time and circumstances should allow the Vicar of Christ to give bishops to their widowed churches; nor were they long disappointed. So soon as the hold which Spain had on her colonies was reduced to protests and protocols, in spite of all opposition and resistance on the part of the former, the Holy See proceeded to treat with the latter for the filling up of vacant sees. By degrees, Chili, Peru, Mexico, the Argentine republic, and the other states, have been supplied with pastors; the Jesuits and other religious orders have been reinstated, and the entire continent essentially Catholic, is firmly knitted in sympathies as in belief with the rest of the Church.

It is chiefly to answer the calumnies of Villanueva and Pereira, that the first work on the list at the head of our article was written. The ponderous and inaccurate quarto of the latter author,* had been translated from the Portuguese into Spanish, at Lima, in 1833, but was received with little or no encouragement by the public. Don José Ignacio Moreno has done the work of refutation solidly and efficaciously. His volume is only a second part, though complete in itself, to a first Essay published six years earlier, treating on the great question of the supremacy, which we regret we have not been fortunate enough to procure.

* *Demonstração theologica, canonica e historica do Direito dos Metropolitanos de Portugal, para confirmarem e mandarem sagrar os bispos suffraganeos.* Lisboa, 1769.

We own that we have been so agreeably surprised by the portion now before us, as anxiously to desire a perusal of the preceding. In the difficulty under which we necessarily labour of procuring accurate information on the ecclesiastical affairs of those distant countries, we own that our views were very limited respecting the state of theological science there. The perusal of this work has completely set us at ease on this subject. We are quite sure, that our brethren the clergy of the New World, will not want assistance from Europe to fight their battles against infidelity, heresy, or any system of error however artful. Whatever crisis moral or political may arise in those states,—however the safety, the unity, or the rights of the Church may seem threatened, we feel confident that its interests are in good and able hands, who will support it as zealously and as efficaciously as they have done during the past. Whatever learning or ingenuity on the part of corruption and error may be imported from Europe, whether in the shape of Protestant tracts or of jansenistical treatises, there will be no need of sending them the antidote after the poison; the soil will produce it powerfully and abundantly on the spot. The author of the work before us has manifestly the command of a good library of theological literature, and knows how to use it. To a close and sound, but still a clear and simple reasoning, he unites an accurate and extensive knowledge of all that ecclesiastical history can furnish towards solving the important question of which he treats. We must, however content ourselves with presenting to our readers only a very summary and imperfect outline of his work.

After having briefly explained the state of the question, he proceeds to lay down what he calls his fundamental proposition, in these words. "The right of instituting or confirming bishops, according to the constitution of the Church, belongs exclusively to the Popes; and from his supreme authority flowed, as from its proper source, that which was at one time exercised, with his consent, by patriarchs, primates, archbishops and metropolitans, in and out of councils."—(p. 7.) This proposition is proved in two chapters, in the first of which the Pope's right of giving canonical institution is proved to be a necessary prerogative of his primacy; and in the second, the derivation of that right to inferior authorities is demonstrated. Here arises an important inquiry into the meaning and intention of the fourth and sixth Canons of the Council of Nicea, which our author treats in three long chapters, full of learning, and excellently arranged. The third chapter in particular, in which the right claimed and exercised by the Popes to confirm the bishops of different coun-

tries, is fully proved, is at once well arranged and abounds with interesting and convincing materials.

The next question is, were the Popes justified in resuming or reserving to themselves the right of instituting bishops, when the necessities or good of the Church required it; and do they deserve, for having done so, the charge of spoliation or usurpation made against them by Pereira or Villanueva? (p. 172.) This point is treated with great ability and an accurate knowledge of canon law. He next examines the motives which not only justified the Holy See, but rendered it imperative for it to resume its original right of reserving to itself the confirmation of bishops; insisting principally, and we think justly, upon the necessity of this practice to secure the liberty of the Church. For without it, the most unfit characters might have been thrust into sees, nor were chapters often sufficiently strong to cope with the temporal power that not unfrequently supported usurpation.

The next question is of a more delicate and complicated character. Do the concordats entered into by the See of Rome with sovereign princes, deprive them of their right of institution; or is the former so bound by them as to be allowed, under no circumstances, to suspend or revoke them, without the imputation of breach of faith? (p. 208.) This we regard as one of the best portions of our author's work, whether we consider the question of right, or the historical examinations to which it gives rise. In the first chapter upon it, he fully confutes the specious theories of Van Espen, on the question on whom does the right of nomination devolve, in case the sovereign, who, by concordat, exercised the right of nomination, is incapacitated from using it? In the second, he shows that the concordat is essentially in the form not of an equal pact between the two parties, but of a concession from one to the other. For, the right in them secured to temporal princes, of nominating to vacant sees, is in truth granted and permitted to them by the sovereign Pontiff, while that of confirming or instituting, which is reserved to the latter, is already his own inherent prerogative. The calumnious accusation against various Popes, in which Villanueva indulges, are completely confuted.

The remaining portion of the work applies more particularly to the circumstances in which the new States of South America are, or were placed. For, the fourth question is, how far a want of communication between the Holy See, or a refusal on its part to appoint bishops, can authorize metropolitans to proceed to nomination? (p. 256.) The fifth discusses whether bishops, so nominated, would exercise valid acts of jurisdiction or not? (p. 306.) The last examines what would have to be done in an extreme

case of impossibility of recurrence to the See of Peter. (p. 318.) On all these points the same soundness of views is displayed, with the same abundant application of historical precedents. The work concludes with copious biographical notes upon the different authors confuted in its course.

The composition of the work, without being in the least shackled with scholastic forms, partakes of that distinctness, method and closeness, which the old school education was so admirably calculated to give, and the absence of which is so plainly felt in modern works on controversy and philosophy. We close it with sincere respect for its author, and a hope that it has received the encouragement in his own country which it deserves. The first section or volume, published like the second, at Lima, was soon reprinted at Buenos Ayres; and was highly applauded by the Valparaiso and Jago papers, as well as by bishops and clergy.* The sentiments of the learned Archdeacon are thus proved to be in accordance with those of his fellow-countrymen, applying the term to the inhabitants of different states, but of one continent. When a publication entitled, "An exact memorial" *Memorial ajustado*, suggesting similar views to those confuted by him, appeared at Buenos Ayres, it was most ably confuted by a layman, Dr. Tomas Manuel de Anchorena, in an opinion dated March 22, 1834. And even before this, the Chamber of Justice of the Republic of Chili, in giving the *Exequatur* to the Bulls for the consecration of the Bishop of Penco, Snr. Cienfuegos, had rejected and refuted its opinions.

While the republican states of South America had shewn themselves wisely ruled in what regarded ecclesiastical affairs, at a very dangerous period of their history, the empire of Brazil had not shown a similar discretion. What was impiously suggested to the former has been actually attempted in the latter; but only to give opportunity for a noble triumph to the Church, and for a splendid demonstration of public opinion in favour of its rights. All the other pamphlets in our list refer to this state, at least indirectly; and we shall endeavour to present our readers with an account of their matter, assisted by other original sources of information, which are at our command.

Brazil, which is governed by a minor, has a stronger right than any constitutional state under ordinary circumstances, to exonerate itself on its ministers, for the foolish—not to say irreligious—course which it exposed itself to the danger of running. Indeed, we cannot but observe, how in modern times every attempt to quarrel with the Holy See on the subject of its rights,

* See their testimonials, given p. 458 of the 2nd volume.

especially in episcopal appointments, has been the work of favourite ministers who have grown all powerful, rather than the sovereigns whom they served ; more the effects of privatespites and grudges, than of princely ambition. The infamous Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal in Portugal, Tanucci at Naples, Campomanes and Urquijo in Spain, Kaunitz at Vienna, are lamentable examples in the course of half a century, of the mischiefs which the corrupt principles or base passions of a minister may bring down upon the Church of his country, under the shelter of weak and easily deluded minds. We are willing to believe that the conduct of the Brazilian ministry arose rather from an unwise hope of intimidating the Holy See, than from any serious intention of proceeding to the extremities which they pretended in the affair whereof we are going to treat. Our materials will be drawn from the third tract quoted above, the "Impartial Reflections on the Speech from the Throne," which we shall afterwards see has received the approbation of the Brazilian public.

The regency of that empire, upon a vacancy of the See of Rio Janeiro, we believe in 1833, proposed to the Court of Rome, as a fit person to fill it, Dr. Antonio Maria de Moura. The Sovereign Pontiff refused to ratify the choice, or give the Bulls of canonical Institution to the elect. With respect to the personal character of the individual named and refused, we pretend to no knowledge. There were sufficient grounds in his avowed opinions to justify the conduct of the Holy See. The annual report of the Minister of Justice, May 10th, 1836, acknowledges that there was "some canonical impediment in the nominee, (and who amongst us," adds the author of the pamphlet, "is ignorant of this fact?) but of the sort which it is customary to dispense with." Farther on he owns that the candidate held some points of doctrine "at variance with the Holy Father." The Minister of Justice, two days later, attributed the objections to opinions given by Dr. Moura contrary to the discipline of the Church. Any Catholic will consider these reasons sufficient in all conscience to justify a demur on the Pope's part ; and whoever understands the jealousy with which the supreme executive power of the Church watches over the integrity of its faith in the most distant provinces, will not be surprised at the noble and unyielding conduct displayed by its present chief ruler.

The Regency seemed determined from the beginning to make this a trial of strength between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and to see how far it would be possible to make the latter sacrifice its scruples, and even principles, to the desire of preserving good understanding with the former. In the annual report of

the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Coutinho, to the Chambers in 1834, he thus explains the state of the contest. "Dr. A. M. de Moura having been named bishop of the diocese of Rio Janeiro, on sufficient grounds, a delay has occurred in expediting the bulls in the usual style. But the Imperial Government hopes, that in virtue of new instructions sent to its agent at Rome, they will shortly be expedited; *as becomes the dignity of the empire, and the individual interests of the Court of Rome.*" Here is no intention or desire manifested to remove the canonical grounds of objection to the individual chosen, nor to satisfy the Holy See that its scruples concerning his orthodoxy were unfounded. The dignity of the empire required that the ecclesiastical authority should implicitly yield to its dictates, however opposed to justice and religion; otherwise the interests of the Holy See should so suffer as to subdue its resolution, and force it to submission.

They little knew the See of Hildebrand who reasoned thus. Negotiations upon such principles necessarily failed, and the ministry had recourse to stronger measures. In the report for 1835 the matter is again reported in the following terms. "As yet the Holy Father has not ordered the expedition of the Bulls giving institution to Dr. Moura, named Bishop of Rio by the regency, in the name of his majesty the emperor. The imperial government having shown its sincerest and liveliest desire to treat with becoming politeness and respect the Holy See, is firmly persuaded that his Holiness, *considering the serious consequences which the refusal of these Bulls will bring after them, will not fail to yield to the energetic representations, made to him by our minister, and to the ultimatum of our government.*" Before proceeding to explain what these measures were, which could not fail to produce the desired effects, we must not omit a clear proof now given that so far from wishing to smooth away difficulties and remove the conscientious scruples of the Holy Father, it was the intention of the regency to force his consent in spite of them. His Holiness, anxious on his part to make every becoming step towards conciliation, had, in the mean time, sent instructions to his internuncio at Rio, to ask for such explanations from Dr. Moura himself, as might allow him to accede to the wishes of the ministry. The report just quoted was made in May, and on the 10th of June, before the papal minister had addressed himself to Dr. Moura, the latter received an official note from Sr. Alves Branco, foreign minister, to the effect that "the Imperial government having learnt that the Chargé-d'affaires of the Holy See had received orders to ask an answer or explanation from him (Dr. Moura), the regency, in the name of the

emperor, declared to him, that it would be very displeasing (*muito desagradavel*) to it, if he agreed to such a demand." To which the episcopal candidate answered in a manner, which proves how worthy he was of being the nominee of such a ministry; he said "that no such application had been made to him by the internuncio; but that if it had, it would have been useless, as he would never have taken so indiscreet a step as to answer it, covering himself thereby with ridicule in the eyes of his fellow-citizens." This conduct proves how far conciliation was remote from the views of the party; for from the earliest ages the right of the Roman Pontiff has been acknowledged, to ask explanations of an elected bishop, on points of faith. Thus early in the sixth century Pope Agapitus refused to confirm Anthimus, of Trebizond, elected to the see of Constantinople, because he refused to sign the formulary of faith enjoined by Pope Hormisdas on the bishops of the east, and even deposed him from the see he held.

But let us see what were the energetic representations made by the Brazilian government to the Holy See. They consisted of one of the most ridiculous, and at the same time one of the most indecent productions of modern diplomacy. For as to the latter characteristic, it is described by the able author of the *Impartial Reflections*, as "launching forth a quantity of words, phrases, and sentiments, gross, unbecoming, injurious, schismatical, heretical, and irreligious: thus not only offending the venerable grey hairs of the illustrious aged chief of the outraged Roman court . . . not only the supreme ruler of the Universal Church, the shepherd of the Catholic flock, the head of the religion and Church of Brazil, but likewise offending sometimes the dignity and honour of all the Brazilian nation and its government, which thus appears to degrade itself by employing the vilest and most miserable means, in its most delicate and important transactions." (p. 24.) This may appear a severe censure, but it is fully borne out by comparison with the ridiculousness of this piece of diplomatic intercourse. The deputy, Sr. Vasconcellos asserted in the Chamber, that the note presented by the Brazilian minister to the Papal Cabinet was a copy and parody of Lord Strangford's note to the Sublime Porte, of August 11, 1823. This assertion appeared too absurd to be believed: the very idea that a Catholic power, in addressing the Holy See, should have chosen as its model the strong remonstrance of a Protestant to a Mohammedan state, and yet talk of having used *becoming reverence* in its intercourse, was monstrous; while the poverty of invention in the government that could condescend to so paltry an imitation, was absolutely ridiculous. Hence even the author of the *Reflections* declares that the answer of Sr. Limpo de Abrêo, given two days

after, that he could not consider such a misapplication possible, appeared to him quite sufficient. Afterwards, however, he procured Meisel's *Cours de Style Diplomatique*, Paris, 1826, in the second volume of which he found Lord Strangford's note, "and with utter dismay, astonishment, and pain, found how true the charge of plagiarism was." The two notes were written in French, so that the comparison may be more easily made. The following are extracts from the two.

Note from the Brazilian Minister to the Holy See, dated 23rd September, 1835.

"Il semble donc que se soit la volonté du Saint-Siège qui a fait naître la crise où il se trouve à l'égard du Brésil, et cette volonté ne peut avoir d'autre base que l'erreur.

Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur s'il croit pouvoir, en gagnant du temps, exercer à la longue la faculté négative dans la nomination des Evêques du Brésil. Dans la crise actuelle, vouloir gagner du temps par des moyens dilatoires, c'est perdre sans espoir de retour, des chances que d'autres combinaisons ont fait naître, mais qu'elles ne sauraient reproduire.

Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur s'il doute de l'unité des vues, d'intentions et de vœux qui préside aux déterminations du Gouvernement du Brésil; s'il doute de l'Assemblée Législative, la Chambre des Députés, la première à reconnaître en principes et en termes formels la justice des réclamations faites en vain depuis plus de deux ans auprès du Saint-Siège, pour éviter une rupture qui d'ailleurs devient inévitable.

Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur s'il croit inépuisable la patience de la Régence au nom de S. M. l'Empereur D. Pedro II.

Le Saint-Siège est dans l'erreur lorsqu'il s'imagine que son intérêt à faire valoir des prétensions exa-

Note from Lord Strangford to the Ottoman Porte, dated 11th of August, 1823.

"Il semble donc que ce soit la volonté de la Porte qui s'oppose au rétablissement des relations de bienveillance réciproque, et cette volonté ne peut avoir d'autre base que l'erreur.

La Porte est dans l'erreur si elle croit améliorer sa position en gagnant du temps. Dans la crise où se trouve l'Empire Ottoman, vouloir gagner du temps, c'est perdre sans espoir de retour des chances que d'heureuses combinaisons ont fait naître, mais qu'elles ne sauraient reproduire.

La Sublime Porte est dans l'erreur si elle doute de l'unité des vues, d'intentions et de vœux qui préside aux déterminations des cours alliées; si elle doute de l'unanimité de toutes les puissances, l'Angleterre, la première à reconnaître en principes et termes formels la justice des réclamations de la Russie contre les innovations, les vexations et infractions, auxquelles le commerce et la navigation sont exposés.

La Sublime Porte est dans l'erreur si elle croit inépuisable la patience de l'Empereur de Russie.

La Sublime Porte est dans l'erreur lorsqu'elle s'imagine que son intérêt à faire valoir ses prétensions

gérés n'a pas des bornes. C'est en insistant avec raideur et hors de saison sur des prérogatives consenties dans les temps obscurs par l'ignorance et l'intérêt des princes, que la Saint-Siège court le risque de voir annuler celles même sur lesquelles se reposent aujourd'hui ses relations avec le Brésil.

à la charge de la Russie, lui commande de différer le rétablissement de ses relations amicales avec cette puissance. C'est en insistant avec raideur et hors de saison que la Porte court le risque de voir annuler celles même sur lesquelles se reposent aujourd'hui ses relations avec la Russie."—p. 23.

The stupidity of this burlesque, particularly in paragraph the third, is beyond measure, where, for "the unanimity of the allied powers," we have substituted, "the unanimity of the Brazilian Government;" as if the Pope had ever founded his delay in making out the Bulls upon any divisions in the government. Such were the energetic representations of the Brazilian Cabinet; its ultimatum was worthy of them. It was that, if his Holiness did not yield to its demands within the term of two months, the Brazilian empire would separate itself from the communion of the Church of Rome. The result was what might have been anticipated by any but the framers of the "energetic representations;" before the expiration of the appointed term, the Pope replied, that it was out of his power to accede to the nomination made for the diocese of Rio.

This declaration of the Sovereign Pontiff, was communicated to the Brazilian public, in the speech from the throne in 1836, which forms the theme of the *Impartial Reflections*. The portion of it which relates to this matter, is couched in the following terms :—

"1. I cannot conceal from you, that his Holiness, after two years spent in reciprocal explanations, resolved not to accept the presentation of the bishop elect of this diocese.

"2. The government has on its side law and justice, but his Holiness obeys his conscience. After this decision, the government considered itself exonerated from using farther condescension with the Holy See; without, however, being wanting in the respect and obedience due to the Head of the Universal Church.

"3. In your hands it is, ("addressing the Chambers,") to free the Brazilian Catholic from the difficulty, and, in many instances, the impossibility, of begging (*mendiar*) at such a distance, relief which ought not to be refused within the empire itself.

"4. So holy is our religion, so well calculated the system of ecclesiastical government, that being reconcileable with every system of civil government, its discipline may be modified for the interests of the State, without ever compromising the essentials of religion itself. Notwithstanding this collision with the Holy Father, our amicable relations continue with the court of Rome."

The object of these paragraphs is sufficiently apparent, and

the fallacies of which they are composed are but slightly disguised. The ministry had made a vain boastful threat against the head of the Church. To use the expression of the primate of Brazil, in the senate, they had inscribed the circle of Popilius round the apostolic chair, and declared, that either he must confirm their nomination in the space of two months, or see that empire separated from the Holy See. So far as threatening, or, to use a plainer and more expressive word, so far as bullying went, they were perfectly competent; but the successor of St. Peter, having refused the first alternative, the ministers had recourse to the Legislature for assistance in carrying into effect their menace, and severing the country from the papal communion. They suggest the necessity of making such provisions as will enable the subjects of Brazil to dispense with recourse to Rome. (Par. 3.) This refers to matrimonial dispensations, as we shall have occasion to show. They desire, moreover, that the discipline of the Church should be so modified as to meet the awkward position into which their blundering conduct had cast the government; that is, that bishops named by them, should be consecrated and instituted without farther confirmation. (Par. 4.)

The two objects of these two paragraphs are clearly explained by the light they receive from the fourth pamphlet on our list, containing the excellent answer of the Franciscan Provincial Frei Antonio de Sancta Mafalda, to a request presented to him, September 1, 1836, that he would give his opinion on a memoir forwarded to him at the same time. The substance of this document, he writes, may be reduced to three articles.

"1. Can bishops nominated by the government, be legitimately invested with possession of the bishopric, and with episcopal jurisdiction, solely in virtue of such nomination?"

"2. Are matrimonial impediments dispensable by the authority, which, on the bishop's demise, exercises his jurisdiction, as the vicar capitular, or administrator of the See?"

"3. Can a bishop, so named, have right to any part of the episcopal revenues, under either of these titles?"

To each of these queries, which evidently embody the more covert suggestions of the speech from the throne, the reverend provincial answers, clearly, solidly, and withal most prudently. Throughout his reply, there is not the remotest allusion to passing events, but the cases are treated abstractedly, as though no application of them could be intended. He candidly states the opinion of canonists, who differ from him, and solidly confutes them. He learnedly discusses the canons of councils and constitutions of Sovereign Pontiffs, on the necessity of confirmation, and concludes against Osorius, that in no case, with-

out the guilt of usurpation and the danger of schism, could a bishop named by a government, empowered to this act by concordat or usage, presume to exercise any act of jurisdiction, without having first received approbation and institution from the Holy See. On the subject of dispensation, he is more reserved, in consequence of the conflict of respectable divines, and the variety of provisions made by the Popes for different emergencies. Still his opinion is not such as to favour the desires or intentions of the government. The reply to the third query, results from the answers to the preceding. No bishop elect can have a claim to more emoluments than he whose places he occupies, that is the vicar capitular, not the bishop.

On this side the ministry were manifestly foiled. But our object in quoting this document here, was not so much to demonstrate this point, as to unmask the desires and views of the government in the speech from the throne. As to the fallacies it contains, the author of the *Impartial Reflections* has admirably laid them open. Many of his remarks we have already incorporated in our narrative. For instance, to prove that ministers did not and could not believe that law and justice were on their side, as they assert in par. 2; he quotes the declaration of ministers given above, that canonical objections existed against the approbation of the individual elected, and their having never proposed other motives for pressing their point beyond the honour of the empire and the interests of the Holy See. But the best proof of the conscious falsehood of the assertion, that law and justice were on the side of the government, results from the conferences held between ministers and the papal resident, in which the former declared, "that in truth the nomination had not been a good one; that the government would not make such a one again, but that being made, it must be maintained!"—(*Impart. Reflec.* p. 10.)

The most important and interesting part of the subject yet remains. How was this appeal to the Legislature received by the Chambers and by the public? As if to prepare for themselves a greater disgrace, the ministers, as we have seen, boasted to the Pope the unanimity of the legislative assembly in supporting their views of the contest between him and them. The result sadly belied their pretensions.

The Chamber of Deputies replied as follows:—

"The Chamber laments the state of collision with the Holy See, in which the imperial government is placed; and hopes, that without injury to the royalties of the crown, or compromise of national interests, the government will provide, that our relations with the head of the Universal Church shall not be altered; and, therefore, con-

siders that, for the present, it is not competent to take any other measures."

The Senate answered in these terms:—

"It is painful to the Senate to learn, that the delicate conscience of his Holiness does not allow him to approve the presentation of a bishop of this diocese. Still the assurance which your Imperial Majesty gives of the continuance of amicable relations with the Court of Rome, the respect and obedience which Y. I. M. protests, (as was to be expected), to the Holy Father, as visible head of the Universal Church, give the Senate well-grounded hopes that the prudence and wisdom of Y. I. M. will employ such mild measures as, without impairing the dignity of the nation, will reconcile these differences. The Senate thus does not consider itself called upon to propose at present efficacious measures to maintain the dignity and rights of your Imperial Majesty's throne."

To understand better the sense of these answers, it must be noticed, that the real state of the question had never been laid before the Chambers. Excepting the annual reports above quoted, in 1834 and 1835, most of the members could know little or nothing about it. It was the publication before us which fully opened their eyes and those of the public. Ministers had made the emperor declare, that *law and justice* were on one side, and only private scruples of conscience on the other. On this *ex parte* statement alone, they had to form a judgment. And yet the violent, extreme views of the ministry were so transparent through the measured phrases of the speech, that both houses declined acceding to its wishes. They naturally desire that the dignity of the Crown and the interest of the nation should be preserved, in a case where they were unhesitatingly assured that law and justice supported them. But even then they manifestly disapproved of the past conduct of the ministry, and refused to support them in their future projects. They regret that any discord should have taken place, and reject the idea proposed in the speech (par. 4), of modifying the relations between the empire and the court of Rome. They decline taking into consideration the matter placed in their hands by the regency, declaring themselves incompetent to take cognizance of it at present. This was all virtually disapproving the course proposed by the executive, especially when joined with the express desire that *mild measures* should be employed,—that is, measures of an exactly opposite character from those hitherto pursued. The debates in both Chambers confirm this view. In the Deputies, a motion was negatived for going into a more detailed and specific examination of the measures suggested in the speech: and the speeches of many senators and deputies were

eminently Catholic. The rights of the Holy See were ably protected, without an accurate acquaintance with the facts of the present case.

Two expressions in the addresses gave rise to considerable discussion. The first was the epithet *delicate* applied to the Pope's conscience, because the Portuguese word *melindroso* was equivocal, and might appear to bear the signification of *nice* or *precise*. But the Marquis de Maricá, of whose character we have formed a high estimate from the perusal of his *Maximas e Pensamentos*, &c. (Rio de Janeiro, 1837), well remarked, that no one would for a moment imagine that a grave assembly like the senate, treating of so delicate a matter, could apply the word in an offensive sense to the Pope. The other expression was, "*for the present*," inserted in the addresses by the committees which prepared them in both Chambers. Some thought that it might seem to hold out a threat against the Holy See, as though, on some future occasion, the Chambers might proceed to farther extremities. This interpretation, however, was overruled, and the phrase was understood to imply nothing more than that, *as matters stood then*, they saw no ground for interference to defend the honour of the state.

The voice of the legislative body manifestly condemned, from the outset, the precipitate and indecent conduct of ministers, and admitted the rights of the Holy See to use its liberty of approving, or not, the nomination made: and this before the entire case had been made public. But the appearance of our pamphlet, and especially the publication in it of the Strangford-Brazilian Note, produced a louder peal of that popular opinion, which all along had warmly espoused the side of ecclesiastical independence against ministerial tyranny, and had approved the Pope's objections to the imperial nominee. In the *Jornal do Commercio*, of Saturday, May 20, 1837, we have a full report of a debate in the Chamber of Deputies, which turned upon the foreign policy of ministers. Sr. Carneiro Leão censured its conduct in exchanging the residents at Rome and Lisbon, because, he said, "after the publication of a note from the former minister to the Holy See, of a nature to discredit Brazil with every court of Europe, it did not seem a proper moment for promoting him to the rank of envoy-extraordinary or minister-plenipotentiary to a court at which there were delicate interests to maintain." Sr. Limpo de Abreu, the champion of ministers on a former occasion, again rose in their defence. With respect to the note, he said he did not pretend to defend it, though he did not consider it a sufficient motive for striking the writer off the diplomatic list. Again, he repeated, he would not attempt to justify it, but

still thought there was a mistake. The occasions of Lord Strangford's and of the Brazilian government's negotiations were too dissimilar to allow the supposition that one copied the other's note. The only resemblance consisted in the expressions, "the Ottoman Porte is mistaken," and "the Holy See is mistaken." (laughter.) Sr. Calmon then rose, and commenced with these words:—"Sir, Heaven grant me on this occasion the marvellous *sang-froid*, the inimitable disembarassment, with which the noble ex-minister of foreign affairs has just defended the note to the Grand Turk, which one of our diplomatic agents has addressed to the Holy Father. I will speak of this affair presently." In fact, after other matters he reverts to this.

"The noble deputy (Carneiro de Leão), speaking of one of our envoys who addressed to the Holy See a note nearly copied from that which Lord Strangford presented to the Ottoman Porte, asks why he has been removed to Lisbon. I will venture to give the explanation he desires. He was removed—I beg pardon, he was promoted—for this very reason, that he had treated the Holy Father as the Grand Turk had been treated. I cannot persuade myself that that diplomatist, an able man, would have been guilty of so wretched a plagiarism, and have insulted the head of the Church, without being put up to it by government. . . . I characterize the plagiarism as wretched, because if the style of the English ambassador suited the representative of the civilization and power of Europe in addressing the Sultan of Constantinople, certainly the same style (and even more exasperating and more insulting in some sentences) could not become the representative of a Christian nation addressing the Supreme Pontiff. Gentlemen, the history of this note is disgraceful to Brazil. I know that when the court of Rome received it, the Holy Father, justly hurt, ordered it to be communicated to the diplomatic body resident in Rome, which, if not the most influential, is, at least, the most diplomatic court in Europe, and exacted from Voltaire himself the praise of high breeding. The diplomatic body expressed to His Holiness the feelings of disgust which the unbecoming character of that note had produced in its members; and I know likewise, that the Hanoverian minister, who indirectly represents His Britannic Majesty, was peculiarly emphatic in expressing his condolence at the proceedings of our envoy. This individual was placed in a false position at Rome, and found himself acting alone."

The honourable deputy continued some time longer commenting most severely upon the insult to the Holy See; but we have given sufficient of his speech, which received no answer, to shew how far the ministers could carry out their boastful threat of pushing the war against the Holy See with an undivided Chamber of Deputies.

But the people were, in fact, against them. The liberal paper, *O sete d'Abril* (the 7th of April), in its number for May 27,

1837, republishes, in Portuguese, the two celebrated notes, heading them with the direction, "For Sr. Limpo d'Abr  n, the member who denied the identity or close resemblance of the two notes." But in an extraordinary number, dated July 10, we have a bolder and stronger expression of the horror which the projected schism produced in the public mind. It consists in a correspondence, which, in addition to its own observations, has been the means of communicating to us a long extract of the *Echo*, a Lisbon paper, deprecating, in the strongest terms, the schismatical conduct of the Portuguese government. The correspondent writes as follows :—

"The object [of the Lisbon question] is almost the same as is discussed here by the Catholics on one hand, and by the partisans of schism on the other ; but as the latter will not yield to the authority of the Holy Church, but, on the contrary, contumaciously persist in enslaving the Spouse of Christ, contemning her most sacred disciplinary laws, &c., it is necessary to persist in the glorious endeavour to beat back schism. Much should I wish to apply the deplorable state in which Portugal is placed, to that into which Brazil is in danger of falling through the determined obstinacy and notes of our Strangfords, who respect the Vicar of Jesus Christ as they do the Grand Turk ;—but I must leave this Turk to the prudent and enlightened reader."

We beg the reader's attention to the expressions in this extract which treat the conduct of the Brazilian ministers as an attack on the independence of the Church ; because, while at variance with some vulgar ideas, they place the dispute in its proper light. It is not uncommon to consider the subjection of the Catholic Church, as established in different nations, to the Supreme Pontiff, as a certain degree of restraint and slavery. It is, in fact, the only true security for its independence. It has seldom been in free governments that so much jealousy has been felt of the close connection of the hierarchy with Rome. Perhaps the countries which allow this to the greatest extent are the United States, the British Empire, Belgium, and South America. On the other hand, Austria, Spain, and some petty states of Italy, not to speak of Protestant, or other absolute monarchies, have for years exhibited great jealousy of Roman interference ; and if the Church in France, in spite of the free institutions of the country, finds itself hampered and trammelled by the civil power, she has to thank the Bourbons, who so generously asserted the privileges of the Gallican Church, that she might be more completely under the sway and pressure of the civil power. But by having the supreme control in ecclesiastical affairs in the hands of a foreign, spiritual authority, who can wield it without fear of those who look more to political than to religious interests in their appoint-

ments, the Church can never completely become the slave or tool of the temporal rulers. The Brazilian public, and its organ the press, have taken this view of the matter; and their attachment to liberty has made them just and impartial in its distribution. They wish the Church to be independent of the political party that happens to govern the state; and they feel that only the independence of the Papal voice in approving or rejecting its nominees, can effect this great object. On the other hand, we have constant complaints from the High Church Protestants of improper promotions to the bench, and of Socinianism itself having been enthroned upon it. The crown nominates and issues its commands to the primate to consecrate, who being himself but a subject, has no power to resist. He gives institution, therefore, to a person whom he considers disqualified for the high office of a bishop. Were he co-ordinate with the nominating power, he might refuse.* The case of Rio Janeiro is not a solitary one even in this pontificate. The present Pope refused canonical institution in France to the Abbé Guillon for having held communion *in divinis* with Grégoire, though named by the King of the French to the see of Beauvais, in 1831. The king was consequently obliged to name another; and M. Guillon having given satisfaction to the Holy See, was created bishop *in partibus*. The same Pontiff has refused to confirm the nomination of some Polish bishop made by the Russian Autocrat. His predecessor, Leo XII, denied institution to a nobleman named by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the see of Massa and Populonia, he having been found at his examination deficient in requisite learning.† He likewise refused to sanction the nomination of Don Fr. Nicolao de Almeida to a Portuguese bishopric, in consequence of errors contained in a work which he had published. In every instance, and in many more during the pontificates of Pius VI and Pius VII, the civil power gave way, and named unobjectionable candidates. In the case of Brazil, where the rulers were not disposed to yield, the popular voice interfered, and insisted upon

* The reader will find grievous complaints against the dangers and mischiefs of the present system of nomination to bishoprics in the Anglican Church, by looking at the *Church of England Quarterly Review* for January of this year, No. V, pp. 116, seqq. where the Church is energetically summoned to assert its rights, and *clamour* (p. 118, note) for the repeal of the *præmunire* which impends over the head of any bishop refusing to consecrate the nominee of the crown, i. e. of its minister. The writer, however, throws himself into one needless alarm,—to wit, that the ministry might choose a Catholic, and, of course, oblige the archbishop to consecrate him under pain of imprisonment and loss of chattels. We should like to know what Catholic would consent to receive consecration at his Grace's hands.

† All the bishops nominated in Italy and the adjacent islands are examined at Rome in theology and canon law, by a board of cardinals and divines appointed for that purpose.

the preservation of ecclesiastical liberty. Farther extracts from papers now before us will satisfactorily prove this.

The *Diario do Rio de Janeiro* for May 31, 1837, writes as follows:—"In this paper we have several times treated of the question regarding the bulls of the bishop nominated for Rio de Janeiro, and always so as to show that his Holiness was in the right. This truth, which we once maintained in spite of many prejudices to the contrary, has now convinced every intelligent mind: the parliamentary tribune, the periodical press, and powerful writings of an apologetic character, have happily combined to proclaim it, being in unison with the voice of the people, so ennobled in the old adage, '*Vox populi vox Dei*.' What remains is, that the illustrious patriot now at the head of judicial and foreign affairs, of whom we have always held the highest opinion, will at once put an end to this unfortunate question, in such manner as to merit the blessings of all good men in his country, whose consciences have for a long time been kept in a state of distress and agitation." The paper then recommends the "*Impartial Reflections*," giving a very full analysis of the work.

The *Jornal dos Debates* of May 20, 1837, writes as follows:—"The re-appearance of Sr. Manoel Alves Branco in the ministry, while yet are pending the negotiations with the court of Rome, wherein he most grievously compromised the dignity of the Brazilian name, appears to us a fact as impolitic as it is contrary to the interests of the nation. The note of September 23, 1835, addressed to the Holy See by Sr. Alves Branco, while secretary of foreign affairs, is a subject of eternal disgrace for the Brazilian government. . . . This note, in addition to being a wretched and ridiculous plagiarism, wounds, in an indecent and brutal manner, the dignity of the head of the universal Church, the venerable pastor of the Catholic flock." It then gives the two notes. In its number of May 31, it gives a long extract from the *Impartial Reflections*, approving its sentiments.

The *Semanario do Cincinato*, a Rio weekly paper, devotes its leading article of June 3 to the same subject, under the head of "The Government and the Holy See." After some preliminary observations relative to the *Impartial Reflections*, the writer proceeds as follows: "We agree with the author of this work, that the government has displayed little prudence in treating this delicate affair.* It either recognizes the existence of a right in the Holy See to confirm bishops, or not. If the first, why does it

* We may note that the expression here used, is precisely the same as gave rise to a debate in the Senate, "*este milindroso negotio*:" here, certainly, it is not used contemptuously.

persist in requiring the Pope to act unfaithfully with his own conscience, and through fear of menaces, give a forced consent? If the second, why was the business at all submitted to the consideration of the Holy See?" The writer then states the arguments of the ministerial party. "No doubt," he continues, "Brazil likewise has the power to separate itself, as some desire, from the foundation-stone of the Church established by Christ; but this is not the question: the point is, whether that power be based upon justice, or only upon arbitrariness and violence. On justice, no,—most certainly; for the Church of Peter is the mother of all Christianity, as has been satisfactorily proved by great writers." The article proceeds to vindicate the absolute right of the Holy See to approve or reject all nominations to bishoprics, and then closes as follows. "We conclude by entreating the government to look at this business in its proper light, by its duty towards the Holy See, and the advantage to the nation, which desires to continue Roman Catholic. Let no one be so mistaken as to say that nothing will be gained by this. Putting aside the compliance with duty,—the peace of men's minds will be secured.* By a contrary course, most sensible evils will come. If the experiment would not be so fatal, we should tell them to try it, that they might be undeceived. But no. We desire to be always Roman Catholics."

To conclude these testimonials of the public press, the *Jornal do Commercio*, which we before quoted only as reporting the debates on the matter, in its paper of May 30, 1837, adds its suffrage to the general voice, and pronounces a warm and merited encomium upon the little work before us. It approves of all its views, and of the tone in which it is written, and concludes in these words: "Would to God, that the business to which it relates may at last be concluded to the mutual satisfaction of the Holy See and of Brazil. This is what all good men must certainly desire!"

The decided Catholic tone of so many organs of public opinion has, we acknowledge, delighted us. There is something generous in this vindication of an authority situated at several thousand miles distance, and having itself no means to repel on the spot the assaults made against it: nay there is something noble in seeing strong religious convictions thus impressed upon that class of

* Many readers will perhaps be surprised to learn that the writer sends ministers to this country to learn the mischiefs of a separation from Rome. We, on our parts, were glad to see this bold disclaimer of an opposite theory, and to find a newspaper acknowledging or supposing a higher standard of national happiness than industrial or financial prosperity.

publications which generally study to catch the light topics of ephemeral gossip, or to amuse its subscribers by trifling anecdote, rather than to engage their attention and interest for such grave and truly important topics.

Our readers will perhaps wish to know how far the public sense of right and justice, has triumphed, so far as effectually to bar the nomination made. To Dr. Moura's credit, it must be said, that when the quarrel was pushed so much beyond discretion by the ministry, he desired and proceeded to tender his resignation, and so cease to be an object of strife and discord between his country and the Holy See. But the government would not consent to accept this sensible offer, determined as it was to push the contest to extremities. A change of ministry having occurred, this offer was, we believe, acceded to. The objectionable nomination has therefore been withdrawn; although as yet the See of Rio de Janeiro remains vacant and under administration.

There are yet three works cited at the head of our article, which have not been referred to; and as we did not mean to place them there merely for display, we proceed very briefly to notice them. The title of No. 2, which we have given at length, will sufficiently explain our motive for joining it to the others. It is an echo of the sentiments of the Brazilian public from beyond the boundaries of its empire, and the reach of political jealousies or interests. To those acquainted with the biography of St. Catherine of Siena, the occasion of publishing an encomium of her virtues will not appear unsuitable to the object proposed in the title. That most extraordinary Saint, whose writings enter into the rank of classics in Italian literature, devoted herself at a tender age to the extirpation of schism, with wonderful success, and convinced Pope Gregory XI, that it was the divine will he should return from Avignon to Rome. The writer has therefore added an appendix to his sermon, of twenty-eight pages, in which he warmly insists upon the necessity of preserving ecclesiastical unity, through an unbroken communication with the apostolic See. In § 4, the author proceeds to treat of the conduct of the Brazilian Government; expresses his astonishment at the blindness of those that conducted it, and gives unqualified praise to the Archbishop of Bahia (the Primate,) to the Dean and Chapter of Rio, and to the apostolic delegate, all of whom have acted the part which the Church expected from them, in their respective capacities. The remaining portion of the appendix contains, in a similar strain, an earnest and learned vindication of ecclesiastical independence. We applaud the zeal, the learning, and the sound principles of the author.

The "Memoir upon the Right of Primacy" is a translation from the French of Monsig. Hirn, Bishop of Tournay, who distinguished himself on occasion of the memorable Council of Paris, convoked by Napoleon in 1811. This translation was most seasonably made and published: it was read with avidity, and produced a change in the sentiments of many, who before had weighed the matter less seriously. It is an additional proof of the interest which the public took in this religious discussion.

The last work which we have placed at the beginning of our article, is the eighth number of a religious journal carried on at Rio, and, though bearing a Latin title, written in Portuguese. We should have been glad to possess more numbers of the series, as it is impossible from one to form a correct judgment of its views or principles. However, when we see the greater portion of this taken up with the Encyclical of the present Pope to the Bishops of Switzerland in 1835, directed against the usurpations of the ecclesiastical rights by the civil legislature of several cantons, we cannot for a moment doubt that the spirit which presides over the compilation of the journal, is soundly Catholic. The rest of the number is taken up with an account of the missions of Paraguay, and religious selections in prose and verse, —some of the former from Challoner.

We have derived no small satisfaction from the perusal of these various works, and from the examination of the great practical questions to which they refer. They have led us to feel more than ever that the true basis of religion is in the hearts of the people, rather than in the heads of their rulers; and that, however useful and satisfactory it may be to see these respecting and publicly honouring the hierarchy, or lending it the moral weight of their avowed convictions and religious zeal, its holiest interests become endangered in proportion to the degree of actual interference which is allowed them in its affairs. Spain and Portugal are lamentable instances of this truth. The people remain unalterably fixed in their attachment to the ancient faith, while their rulers have conducted the one country into the gulf of schism, and the other to its verge. In spite of every prohibition, daily recourse is had to Rome from the clergy of Portugal, for faculties, where their own superiors being intruders, are not empowered to grant them; and from the laity for dispensations and privileges beyond the jurisdiction of local ecclesiastical authorities. In Spain, it is the same, though there, in fact, no breach has taken place with the Holy See. Within these few weeks, we have read with pleasure, that the municipal authorities of one of the principal Christian cities (Valencia) have put a stop to the labours of the Bible-and-tract-men, who were taking advantage

of the confusion to sow tares in the field of Christ. And the papers of that party applauded this decisive conduct of the magistracy, observing that, in the present disturbed state of Spain, religious dissension and warfare would indeed be the finishing blow of their country's misery. We have it from undoubted authority, that, during the last month, one commercial house alone paid into the Roman Dataria, in the course of ten days, 30,000 dollars, as fees in ecclesiastical affairs. The money and the business connected with it came from Madrid, with the full knowledge and consent of persons high in the Christino interest. And we have no doubt that, sooner or later, when the political troubles of the two countries cease, the Catholic religion and its holy Church will recover their proper influence, and the hearts of the people will rejoice to see peace of conscience and quietness of government once more restored.

There is something singular in reading the sincere lamentations uttered by almost all the writers we have reviewed, over the blindness of these their parent countries, and their sincere remonstrances with them at having allowed the bane of schismatical feeling to disgrace their political struggles. It is a solemn but a pleasing thing, to hear a voice from across the ocean teaching the duty of spiritual obedience to nations that stand almost under the shadow of Peter's throne; the voice of republics and of free constitutional monarchy (but lately considered outlaws and rebels), boldly reproving the Most Catholic and Most Faithful monarchies for swerving from fidelity to the Catholic Church. We hail its sound with joy, as one note in that grand accord which the unity of faith and the communion of love throughout the universal Church, raise on earth, the only meet symbol, as it is the echo, of the harmony of a sublime sphere !

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.—Legacies of four sums, amounting in all to 17,000*fr.*, have been left to the order of Christian Doctrine, for the support of schools in four specified towns. The number of novices in the establishments of the order of Christian schools in France reaches 260. A subscription has been opened in Paris and other places to present to the Archbishop of Cologne a picture by M. Hauser, representing our Saviour explaining the allegory of the vine to his disciples.

The Abbé Dupuch has lately established at Bourdeaux several charitable institutions for poor children, amongst which are a house in which the poor Savoyards, who annually come to Bourdeaux in great numbers, are lodged and receive religious instruction; thirty infant schools, containing in all 1800 children, under the age of thirteen, after which they are apprenticed to different virtuous tradesmen; gratuitous elementary schools, under the direction of the sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin, who take charge of five hundred girls, besides a normal school for schoolmistresses; two establishments for orphan boys and one for girls. His principal establishment is a house of confinement for young prisoners, founded in March 1837: in September it contained fifty prisoners, divided into five classes or stages of punishment, with their respective superintendent. They are obliged to keep silence, and are taught to read and write; they choose their own trade and receive elementary instruction in it from regular masters; they love one another, and are above everything eager for religious instruction. M. Dupuch has been appointed its director, with the approbation, and at the express request of the Inspector General of the French prisons, who intends to form institutions on the same plan in other parts of France.

The civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Lyons have recognized and opened the Faculty of Theology in that city. Several professors of great merit have been appointed; the course was opened in an elegant discourse on the propagation and influence of Christianity, by M. Pavy, professor of ecclesiastical history.

BELGIUM.—The number of religious institutions in Belgium is daily increasing. The bishops and clergy have been most zealous in founding seminaries and places of education; under their united patronage, but particularly through the zeal of the late Prince de Méan, Bishop of Mechlin, and his successor, the Catholic University of Louvain has become the resort of students from other countries, as well as from the neighbouring provinces. The list of students in the year 1837 included 350 names; that of the present year reaches to 410. It is not to be supposed that the present University can ever possess revenues equal to those of the old University of Louvain, which were valued at 1,400,000*fr.*; but by the zeal and activity of the bishops, another college has been lately opened for the reception of medical students. The object of these colleges (*pédagogies*) is to provide against the dangers to which the students would be exposed by living in the city, and to enable them to

pursue their studies with less interruption and distraction. There are thirty-five medical students in the new establishment, in the Faculty of Theology are upwards of forty, ten of whom are foreigners; that of Philosophy contains about two hundred. The extensive chemical laboratory is nearly finished. The authorities of Louvain have entrusted the reorganization of their municipal school to the professors of the University. The course of Theology for the present year is as follows; the *Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*; *Oriental Languages*, by M. Beelen; *Ecclesiastical History*, by M. Wouters; *Canon Law*, by M. de Ram, Rector of the University; *The third Book of the Decretals*, by M. Verhoeven; *The treatise on the most blessed Trinity*, by M. Malon; on the *Sacraments of Orders and Matrimony*, by M. Verkest. By the official returns it appears that there are in all three hundred and twenty-nine religious communities of men and women in Belgium; one hundred and fifteen of them are for the care of the sick or of lunatics; one hundred and thirty-eight are houses of education; seventy-six are for the reception of those who devote themselves to a contemplative life. These last contain the smallest number of inmates; their members are bound by vows of poverty, and the greater portion of them subsist wholly on alms. These seventy-six houses are divided into twenty-four religious communities of men, and fifty-two of women. Amongst the former are Recollects, Capuchins, Dominicans, Augustinians, Urbanists, and Trappists; the last-mentioned spend part of their time, like their brethren in England and Ireland, in tilling the ground; amongst the latter are convents belonging to nearly every order approved by the Church. Of these the most remarkable are the Béguines. Their establishments (*béguinages*) which exist nowhere but in Belgium, form streets, and even entire parishes, of small irregularly built houses, which the traveller at first would suppose to be wholly tenantless and deserted. On each door is inscribed the name of the saint whom the solitary inmate has chosen for her protector. They make vows of chastity and obedience, which are obligatory only during the time they belong to the order. They spend their time in religious exercises or in working, and whatever they gain by their labours is their individual property, of which they are not bound to render any account. The houses are usually built, either by the more opulent Béguines, or with the funds left to the order. When one of the number dies, another is appointed to succeed to her house, for which she pays, on admission, a sum determined by the condition of the building and its furniture. This money is reserved for repairs of the *béguinage*, and the expenses of the infirmary, which, with a church and curate, always forms a part of it. The Capuchins, Recollects, Trappists, and barefooted Carmelites, wear the habits of their order, in public. Besides the Dominicans, Redemptorists, and monks of Cîteaux, the Society of Jesus have houses at Brussels and Antwerp, and colleges at Namur, Brugellete, Alost, and Ghent. The Prémontrés have taken possession of their venerable abbeys at Affligem, Grimberge, and Everbode. From the returns it may be also gathered that the progress of religion has been greater in the northern than in the southern provinces of the kingdom. The perpetual adoration of the blessed Sacrament, and the devotion of

the month of Mary (May) have been attended with the most successful results; and the Redemptorists, the Society of Jesus, and other missionaries, have given retreats in different places, to which immense crowds of people flocked to attend the sermons, and join in the other exercises of piety. Since 1830, in the diocese of Bruges alone, sixteen new churches or chapels have been built; fifteen have been repaired, increased, or are now undergoing repairs; and on these works 356,500*fr.* are to be expended. M. Louis Vuylsteke, who is no less celebrated for his piety than his talents, gratuitously spends the whole of his leisure time in drawing plans for churches, schools, convents, &c.; he has built upwards of thirty churches or chapels.

AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS.—The Empress of Austria, in her recent pilgrimage to the celebrated chapel of St. Mary, at Maziagell, made an offering of a rich necklace of pearl, fastened with a clasp formed of the ball fired by an assassin at her august husband in 1832. The ball is cased with gold and diamonds.

On the 18th of October the emperor laid the first stone of the convent which is about to be built by the Mechitarists in Vienna. The pope's nuncio officiated and blessed the work. It is mentioned in the French papers that two Mechitarist Fathers arrived from Venice at Paris in January, on their way to England, where a rich Armenian Catholic has invited them to found an establishment of their order. Their society at Vienna for the publication of good books has circulated during the last seven years 260,166 volumes. In 1836, 26,464 were distributed in Austria, Bavaria, and the rest of Germany, including 3000 volumes in the diocese of Cologne, and 900 in that of Munster.

M. Albertini, an ecclesiastic of Verona, bequeathed a sum of 100,000 florins to establish a house for the Society of Jesus at Verona. The bishop of the city exerted himself to obtain the consent of the government to this foundation; it has been granted, and the fathers have taken possession of their house. The inhabitants of Inspruck had long desired to give up the care of their hospital to the Sisters of St. Vincent of Paul. Their petition to the emperor has been favourably received, and a collection made for them by the curate has produced 25,000 florins. The expenses incurred in building the noble cathedral of Erlau, mentioned in our fifth number, amount to 800,000 florins, a great part of which has been subscribed by the Archbishop Pyrker, Patriarch of Venice.

BAVARIA.—The royal chapel of All Saints at Munich, one of the finest works of the present king, was opened on the 29th of October, by Mgr. Gebtsattel, Archbishop of Munich. The paintings by Hess are universally admired.

The following sums have been given in the years, and for the purposes specified, by members of the clergy alone in Bavaria; In 1830, 10,850 florins for hospitals and primary schools, by two canons of Munich and Wurtzburg and a country curate; in 1831, 4,300 florins for education in his parish, by the curate Emiller; in the same year, the dean of the chapter of Munich bequeathed a house and landed property to the Lyceum of Freisingen; in 1833, 10,200 florins for education, by two ecclesiastics; in 1834, 4,100 florins for education; in 1835, for

education 43,000 florins ; in 1836, 1,000 florins for a hospital ; M. Seidl, curate of Tolz, made the schools and poor of his parish sole heirs of his fortune, 15,950 florins. These sums amount to 89,810 florins. In this sum are not included other legacies not mentioned by the official paper from which the above are copied ; we must not, however, omit a sum of 40,000 florins left by two curates of Bamberg.

The king of Bavaria has presented to the English nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin the ancient abbey of Niedernbourg at Passau. They were received with the sincerest expressions of joy and welcome by the inhabitants. On the 30th of September, Mgr. Riccabona, bishop of the city, installed the new superioress ; and on the following day three novices made their vows in his presence.

SAXONY.—Numerous conversions have taken place within the last four months, and other Protestants are on the point of embracing the Catholic religion. The conversion of M. Bergmann, a student in Theology, has created a deep impression amongst the members of his former communion. At Halle, M. Ringmann has lately made his profession of the Catholic faith, and his example will probably be followed by several of his fellow-students.

ELECTORAL HESSE.—A subscription was opened in 1829 to raise a monument at Fulda to St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, whose tomb is in the cathedral of that city. Different causes, especially the destruction by fire of the foundry of Cassel, have until now prevented the execution of this design ; but a fresh agreement has been made, fixing the 1st of August of the present year, as the day for the completion of the statue of the saint in bronze. A central convent of Sisters of Charity for the principality of Hesse, has been formed in his episcopal city by Mgr. Pfaff, bishop of Fulda. The funds for this purpose have been partly supplied by the bishop from his own moderate revenues, and partly by a sum of 1,000*fr.*, sent by the Duchess of Orleans to the sisters of this city, where she was met by the envoy of the King of the French, on her way to Paris.

SCHWARTZENBURG.—A church has long been wanted in Arnstadt, and it has only been within the last year that the Catholics have found means to perform the duties of their religion in a becoming edifice. For this, they are indebted to a legacy of 550 crowns left by the pious Mr. Hamilton, professor and ex-prior of the Scotch monks at Erfurt, the subscriptions made by the Catholics of Fulda, Leipzig, and the kingdom of Bavaria, but chiefly to the generosity of Louis, king of Bavaria. The dedication was performed on the 11th of September last by M. Liebber, curate of Erfurt, Gotha and Arnstadt. On the 11th of October, the Catholics were again met in their church by the civil authorities, who presented to them, in the name of their sovereign, a superb ostensorium, which had been sent for expressly to Stuttgart, accompanied by the following letter addressed to the Catholic inhabitants of Arnstadt :—

“ You have been until now deprived of the advantage of possessing an edifice in which you could duly nourish your piety, and worthily celebrate the worship of God. This religious want has just been supplied. In the accomplishment of so lawful a desire, which you have felt for

many years, and which has been met even by strangers with manifold sympathy and charity, we have thought it our duty to join in a particular manner, especially as we have been convinced by reading the book of hymns composed for the dedication, and of which you have forwarded to us a copy, of that lively and sincere piety, of those Christian feelings, and of that attachment to our person, with which the whole assembly was filled. To contribute, as much as in us lies, to preserve and keep alive for the time to come, these beautiful feelings, we have not been able to refuse ourselves the gratification of offering to you, with the accompanying ostensorium, a proof of our paternal affection, and, in some measure, an earnest of the justice and protection that you will always find in us towards every thing that concerns religion as well as your temporal interests.

GOUTHIER-FRED. CHARLES."

"*Sondershausen, 7th Oct. 1837.*

SWITZERLAND.—The government of the Ticino has employed all its resources for the laudable purpose of improving their province, by rendering the passage over Mount St. Gothard safe and convenient. To provide for the spiritual as well as the corporal wants of travellers, the Capuchin fathers of the canton have been applied to, and have engaged to keep in the hospital of Mount St. Gothard two religious, with a lay-brother of their order, to assist any one in danger, to furnish provisions to indigent travellers, to celebrate mass at a convenient hour every day, to administer the sacraments to the neighbouring inhabitants, and to instruct them in the great truths of religion.

The first annual report of the college founded last year at Schwytz, and placed under the care of the Society of Jesus, has appeared. The subscriptions received from every part of Christendom for its support amount to 80,000 livres of Swiss money. Amongst the founders are his Holiness, the king of Sardinia, the grand-duke of Modena, and the duke of Blacas. Father Drach, formerly of the College of Friburg, is the superior. It is intended to form funds for pensioners, and the plan is expected to succeed as well as at Friburg. Rumour adds, that the school of the Society at Bourg is to be discontinued, on account of the fewness of the students, and because the king of Bavaria has applied to the Society to send some of its members into his dominions.

GREECE.—A letter from the bishop of Syra gives the following information respecting the state of religion in the kingdom of Greece. The number of Catholics is very small—they are to be found only at Athens, Poros, Nauplia, Patras, and Navarino. His lordship has the spiritual government of the Catholics in these places. Besides continental Greece, there are four islands with their several bishops, Naxia, Syra, Tino, and Santorino. It is thought that the total number of Catholics in Greece is about 15,000. It is painful to add, that the Catholics do not enjoy the same freedom in the exercise of their religion under Otho of Bavaria, as they possessed under the dominion of the Turks. Their only protection exists in the rights reserved to itself by the French government, in the protocols with the court of St. James', in which it is provided that no one shall interfere with the bishoprics and missions which have been from time immemorial under the protection of France.

TURKEY.—On the very day that his Holiness pronounced his allocution respecting the affairs of Cologne before the sacred college, consoling intelligence reached Rome from Constantinople. The Armenian Catholics had always been unsuccessful in their petitions to be distinguished from their schismatical countrymen. All the civil acts regarding them could acquire a legal force solely by means of the schismatical patriarch, and it may be easily conceived to what annoyances they were consequently exposed. In 1830, indeed, the Sultan acknowledged them as a Catholic nation; but they could only obtain leave to build one church, as the minister, Pêrtef Pacha, who had been gained over by the schismatics, found means to render all their applications fruitless. The English papers have already mentioned the disgrace and banishment of the minister; his successor has procured a firman authorising the Armenian Catholics to build nineteen churches,—three in Constantinople, and the rest in other cities of the empire.

SWEDEN.—M. Studach, vicar-apostolic in Sweden, having collected amongst his Catholic brethren in England, France, and Belgium, a sum sufficient to build a church in Stockholm, it was opened on the 16th of September. The following extracts are from a letter dated Stockholm, 4th December:—

“ I have great satisfaction in announcing to you that the new Catholic church, the first built for three centuries, has been consecrated. Its architecture is simple, but majestic, and worthy of the house of God. Thanks be to God and our benefactors, all is paid for! For what yet remains, we live in the most sanguine hope. The consecration took place at nine A.M. on the 16th of September. High mass was sung at eleven o'clock. Besides the queen and their royal highnesses the prince and princess-royal, there were present the governor and some of the other authorities. The Lutherans and Jews who have contributed to the building were also present. A mass of Nasselinger's was executed by forty-two musicians. After the gospel, M. Studach ascended the pulpit and delivered a discourse in the Swedish language. This sermon offended none, and drew tears from all. The celebration of the holy sacrifice made a salutary impression on all the spectators, many of whom had never seen a Catholic church. In a word, every thing comforts us with the prospect that our temporal church will soon obtain for us a spiritual one.”

After mass, an affecting scene took place in the sacristy. A subscription had been opened and amounted to 2,764 francs. The interest of this sum is to form a revenue for the poor, bearing the name of M. Studach. The address of the senior syndic on presenting it to him, is too full of affection and gratitude to be omitted:—

“ In less than four years, you have founded for this parish the beautiful church which you have this day consecrated, an abode for priests and for orphans, and you have taught the catechism in the language of the country. Every one can readily perceive that great exertions have been necessary to accomplish all this. Moreover, continual anxiety and toil, nights which have passed without bringing you sleep and rest, have so weakened your health, that more than once you have been on the point

of sinking. Your flock desires to express to you its deep-felt gratitude. Beloved father ! how can we give expression to the feelings of wonder and gratitude with which we are filled ? All that you have done for us, the lessons that you have given us in the temple, the example that you have given by your pure and stainless conduct, are written on our hearts in ineffaceable characters. We thank you, beloved father, by our feelings. Your name shall be held in benediction amongst our remotest descendants. May the Most High allow us to possess you for many years ! May you announce to us for a long, very long time, the truths of the Word of God in the temple which you have built, that you may have the satisfaction to see some at least of the fruits of your great work ! To love you, to respect you, we shall always be able ; to reward you can only be in the power of the Almighty who sent you amongst us. As a mark of the respect which is felt by your flock towards its noble and beloved pastor, and as the only mark of gratitude that can be of any value in your eyes, the parish has established, on this day of its being born again after so many centuries, a fund, the interest of which will serve to relieve the poor belonging to it. The parishioners unanimously request that this fund may bear the name of their greatest benefactor—STUDACH."

PRUSSIAN POLAND.—The *Theological Annals*, published at Posen, supply us with the following facts illustrative of the system of indirect persecution, to which we have already referred, practised by the Prussian government towards the Catholic subjects in its possessions in Poland. This journal is published in the language of Poland, and is conducted in a firm and temperate spirit. Its editor, M. Jabezinski, is an ecclesiastic of great virtue and ability, and the proprietors concur, with laudable zeal, in endeavouring to awaken a spirit of energy and application in the rising generation, and particularly endeavour to encourage the study of theology amongst the clergy. The Prussian provinces in Poland form three extensive dioceses, — Posen, with the archbishopric of Gnezen (Gniezno) attached to it, Culm, and Ermeland (Warmia). To these Breslau might be added ; as ever since these provinces have been part of Prussia, it has always been suffragan to Gnezen, and its population is wholly Polish. The number of inhabitants in each of these dioceses is not less than a million, all of whom are Catholics. Notwithstanding their national character, which is as distinctly marked as their attachment to the Catholic Church, the King of Prussia is attempting to *Germanise* them, by undermining their religion. A system of skilfully adapted measures is regularly followed by his government for this purpose. All the ecclesiastical dignitaries, all the persons whose station gives them any influence amongst the clergy, and in some places all the parochial clergy, are Germans. Their ignorance of the language of their flocks, forms no exception to the general rule followed in their selection. Thus the Bishop of Ermeland, Mgr. Hohenzollern-Heichingen, whose elevation has recently taken place, is a Prussian who does not understand the Polish language. His clergy is not a national body ; the government, which has gradually destroyed the religious orders, forbids natives to be raised to the priesthood. Two evils have hence arisen ; the ancient clergy are rapidly disappearing, and the want of priests is gene-

rally felt; and to fill up this deficiency, the bishops have applied to the clergy of Breslau, where the Polish language is still spoken. Breslau, however, is completely a Prussian diocese; the clergy have no schools of their own, and the young ecclesiastics are obliged to have recourse to the universities, which are full of rationalism and impiety, and where there is no distinction between them and the secular students. The other dioceses are similarly situated. Culm is in a condition still more lamentable. The law forbidding the ordination of natives is in force; the ecclesiastical schools have been suppressed, and the convents shut up; most of the churches are without priests. This state of things has been loudly condemned by the press, in spite of the rigid censorship exercised over it. Other facts are still more plain and more convincing. Thus, at Oliva, near Dantzic, there was an extensive community of Benedictines, of the order of Cîteaux, whose monastery, founded in the time of Saint Bernard, was the admiration of all Poland. The Prussian government forbade the monks to receive novices, and the inmates were soon considerably reduced in number. Their suppression shortly followed; the religious being dead, and the convent destroyed, their church was given to the parish of Oliva, whose former church was put into the hands of the evangelical congregation of the town. The king had previously "*most graciously*" we quote from the royal proclamation, "*condescended to relieve the priests of the mission (the Lazarists) from their labours in the direction of the seminary*" of the above town. In their places, four ecclesiastics, all foreigners, have been appointed. Their conduct, and that of their director, has made the loss of the Lazarists more deeply felt. Besides their foreign extraction, their life and behaviour have neither been virtuous nor irreproachable. The generous labours of the Lazarists endeared them to the inhabitants of Posen, Vilna, Minsk, and Bialystok, where they are established, and afford edification and comfort to the Catholics of Poland. This change at Posen did not satisfy the government; a second seminary has been founded in the same diocese, and placed under superiors "*of the right sort.*" Of the professors one only is a priest, the others are all laymen. But it was foreseen that this seminary would soon be deserted by the Catholics of the country; and to prevent such an open failure in its plans from becoming public, the government founded rich scholarships, which have enticed many German students to the establishment. Ecclesiastical advancement is readily obtained by these strangers, though it is in a great measure refused to the Catholic natives. It is consoling to reflect that there are still remaining many virtuous and excellent ecclesiastics. The faith, morals, and virtue of the inhabitants, are not yet destroyed. Many facts attest the zeal of some of the clergy, and especially of the primate.

The sequel to this account of the persecution of the Catholics has just reached us. The concluding sentence of the preceding paragraph alludes to the zeal of the Archbishop of Posen in defence of the Church. As far back as the 28th of last October, before the arrest of the Archbishop of Cologne, or the delivery of the Pope's allocution, this intrepid and virtuous bishop had addressed to the king an earnest expostulation on the regulations for mixed marriages, prescribed by him to the Catholic

clergy. When those events had taken place, he wrote a circular letter for the use of his clergy, explaining in the clearest terms the doctrine of the Church on the question of marriages; and forbade, on pain of suspension, to be incurred *ipso facto*, any of his clergy to act contrary to it. Soon after the appearance of this pastoral, the Archbishop and three of his chapter were arrested; but the matter was conducted with so much dispatch and secrecy, that the place of their confinement could not be discovered.

RUSSIA.—We here extract an account of the state of religion in Russia, copied from a Belgian paper, which professes to have received it from authentic sources. The same documents have been open to a French paper, which fully confirms the statements of the former.

“The Emperor Alexander solemnly promised, in the edict for suppressing the Society of Jesus, that their property should remain in the hands of the Catholics. This promise has been eluded, their property has been seized and their churches given to the schismatics, who had previously more churches than they required, whilst the Catholics were in want of them. The town of Vitebsk contains 20,000 souls. This number is frequently much augmented by the nobles and public officers, who come to it for the affairs of the province of which it is the chief town. There is, however, only one church; and a petition to the emperor for another has not been successful. The Jews, Turks, and even idolators, are allowed to establish their places of worship in Russia: while the Catholics are often deprived of theirs, which are too few for their wants. The emperor has forbidden them to raise new churches, or repair the old ones, without his permission, which, when sought, is delayed till the churches have fallen to ruins. The number of parishes is likewise too small; persons are often a whole day's journey distant from their parish church; and this, added to the fewness of priests, renders the administration of the sacraments almost impossible. To increase this evil, the bishops have been commanded not to nominate any chaplain or parish priest without the previous permission of the local governor, to obtain which is extremely difficult; and thus an entrance is made, not for the true shepherd, but for wolves to devour the flock. This want of priests has been rendered still greater by an imperial edict forbidding any communication between the clergy of the Catholic and of the united-Greek Church. In one part of Russia, all the nobles follow the Latin rite, while the lower classes belong to the united-Greek Church. The scarcity of priests, the distance from their own churches, and other circumstances, allowed a dispensation in many cases from the law which requires the members of each rite to receive the sacraments and attend mass at the church of his own rite. But the imperial edict, by preventing any communication between the members of the two rites, has deprived the faithful in many places of the comforts of religion. The nobles assembled at Mohilow, and addressed a petition to the emperor for more priests, and received for answer that the number of priests was sufficient for the number of Catholics.

“The religious orders have been gradually suppressed. In 1829, an edict was published, requiring all candidates for entering any religious

order, to obtain the previous permission of the governor of the province, to see whom a journey of several days is often necessary: to him they were to show their letters of nobility, and then to wait for the approval of the Minister of Public Worship. We need not add, that since 1829, few of the candidates have received a favourable answer to their petition. These measures soon left the convents nearly empty, and the emperor then issued an edict for suppressing them, *on account of the small number of their inmates*. When public report anticipated the appearance of this edict, the nobles prepared a petition in favour of the monasteries, but the government hastened its publication, and instantly suppressed the monasteries, and closed the churches and schools attached to them. Free education is also forbidden. The Catholic priests are not allowed to answer the objections and calumnies industriously circulated against their faith, or to teach that salvation is attainable only in their Church. Books treating of the articles of faith on which the Churches differ, can neither be imported nor printed in Russia. These points are likewise excluded from the courses of theology permitted by government in the seminaries; and all mention of the procession of the Holy Ghost and of the supremacy of the Pope, is strictly interdicted.

In this persecution, Poland has not escaped. In 1833, the supreme government of Warsaw issued an edict commanding the Bishop of Poldachia, Monsig. Gutkowski, to take out of all libraries a book *on the concord and discord* of the Greeks and Latins. The bishop answered, that obedience to this decree was forbidden by his duty, and the religion of which he was the guardian. The same prelate sent a remarkable answer to a letter written by General Golowin, respecting marriages between Greeks and Latins. The Poles were surprised at the new doctrines advanced by the general; but it was well known that in Russia an edict had long been enforced, by which, when one of the parties belonged to the Greek Church, all the children were to be educated in that communion. On this occasion, even the children born before the publication of the edict, were forced to abjure the Catholic faith; the prisons of Volhinia were filled, in 1833, with these unfortunate children. In Poland, the nobles alone remain faithful to the Church, and against them this edict was framed; the lower classes were already sufficiently pliant. The education given to the children of the nobility tends to the same object. Their schools have been taken from the religious orders, and given to laymen; the scholars are obliged to learn the sciences in the Russian language, of which they are ignorant; the masters have been formed in schismatical universities, and are generally themselves schismatics; they know well that the surest way to promotion is by seducing their scholars to the creed of their rulers. The young men who choose the profession of arms, are all placed under schismatical professors. Means are taken to corrupt the clergy; they are tempted by the prospect of wealth, honours, and advancement, or ground down by injustice and persecution. The excellent Szezyt, administrator of the diocese of Mohilow, who opposed the suppression of the monasteries, was, under pretence of being entrusted with a commission from government, removed to the extremities of the empire, and could only obtain

leave to return to his flock by the intercession of the nobility. The only bishop of the united Greek Church who has withstood all the seduction and menaces of the government, is Monsignor Bulhak, whose advanced age will not allow him long to stand in their way.

The order of St. Basil was renowned for the zeal, learning, and virtues of the members whom it furnished to the secular clergy; and no priest could be raised to the episcopacy unless he had belonged to it. This law has been annulled, the order has been subjected to the secular clergy, its provincials are appointed by the bishops, and its monks are not allowed to hold communion in things divine with the Latin clergy. Their studies are distinct, and suspected authors are put into their hands. They cannot receive any novices except such as are the children of parents belonging to the united-Greek Church. Many of their monasteries have been suppressed, and their property has been assigned to the secular clergy, for the purpose of gaining them over to the views of government. It is to be regretted that several of the higher clergy appear to have declared their willingness to join the schismatical Greek Church; and it is certain that some of them have ordered those under their direction, to use missals printed at Moscow, from which the procession of the Holy Ghost and the supremacy of the Pope, are omitted. The inferior clergy have not been so submissive to the wishes of the government. Fifty-four of them declared in writing that they could not in conscience use such missals. This remonstrance irritated their bishop; some of them yielded to his threats; and the others were condemned to a year's penance in a monastery, and obliged to undergo an examination before their faculties were restored to them. The author from whose work the subject of their examination was to be selected, was the one introduced by government into the schools of the united-Greek Catholics. At the end of the year, one of the imprisoned priests, M. Plawki, a man distinguished for his piety and learning, instead of submitting to the examination, wrote a severe critical refutation of the book in question. His refutation was sent to St. Petersburg, and he was immediately sent into exile with his six children, and all his property was sold. He is now dying of want and privation in the place of his banishment. The persecutions practised on the lower classes are still more cruel and tyrannical. In some cases, exemption from public duties is promised to those who unite with the schismatics. If this deceit does not succeed, a few of the most abandoned inhabitants of the parish are induced to sign a petition in the name of the whole parish, expressing its desire to embrace the state religion. The church is immediately filled with troops, the inhabitants are assembled and informed that their request has been graciously approved, and that they are allowed to follow the religion of their choice. If any one dares to raise his voice against such a proceeding, and assert that it has happened without his knowledge and against his wishes, he is seized and cruelly flogged for leaving, as it is pretended, the religion which he had just embraced. It is then notified to the authorities that the parish has adopted the state-creed, and Catholic priests are forbidden to administer the sacraments in it. If the first attempt fails, the government agents return again and again to the attack. Thus the tenants on

an estate, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, at Polotsk, have one by one been forced to abandon the creed of their forefathers. These persecutions induced the nobles assembled at Vitebsk to address a remonstrance to the emperor against forcing any one to apostatize from his religion : it was signed by all present, Catholics, Protestants, and schismatics, with one exception. Early intelligence of this public protest was conveyed to the emperor, who immediately issued an order to the nobles not to enter into any religious questions in their address. The parish of Ugacz, (district of Lepel) presented a petition complaining of the violent measures used to make them change their religion. 'We have been threatened,' they say, 'we have been beaten, our hair has been plucked out, our teeth broken, and we have been cast into prison.' But they were ready to undergo every thing rather than deny their faith. The same complaints were addressed to the emperor by the inhabitants of another village. Orders have now been given, that in future such remonstrances are not to be received. The only instances of favour towards the Catholics which we find mentioned, are that, on his visit to Cronstadt in 1836, the emperor granted 200,000 rubles from the treasury, for building a Catholic church, and house for the clergy, in that town. The work is now begun : the first stone was laid by Monsignor Ignatius Paulowski, President of the Catholic College. Funds have been allowed to other churches in different places ; and the government has lent 500,000 rubles without interest, for four years, to the Catholic church of St. Catherine at St. Petersburg.

UNITED STATES.—A short account of the proceedings of the Council of Baltimore, held in April last year, is contained in an extract from a letter written by Monsignor Bruté, bishop of Vincennes, to a friend in Europe :—

"I intended some time ago to send you an account of our progress in these parts, but I waited, in the hope that our Lord would be pleased still more to increase and continue the graces and fruits of our new mission. At my arrival in my diocese in November 1834, the total of my clergy amounted to *two* priests, but the Almanack of this year will contain *twenty-one*, and we have small parishes begun in every direction ; *small*, when we consider their number, but *great* when we look to their distance from each other ; the manner in which they are scattered over tracts of country, any of them being equal to a French diocese, or two or three Italian ones. I have just finished a journey of between six and seven hundred miles on horseback, from Vincennes to Souttebend, near the frontiers of Michigan, thence to Fortwaine, thence to Logansport, and lastly, to Terre Haute ; to give confirmation to the few who happened to be prepared to receive it. There were, however, above sixty of them, and above sixty communicants in their wood-built church, which is sixty feet in length and forty in breadth. In other places, the number of persons to be confirmed was small ; in one parish, no more than seven were prepared. It is true, that on account of the Council of Baltimore, and the time of my return being uncertain, timely notice could not be sent to these worthy ecclesiastics. The council has petitioned his Holiness to establish three new dioceses ; Natchez for the state of Mississippi,

Nashville for Tennessee, and Dubuque for the country to the north of St. Louis. *Ostium magnum apertum ! Messis multa !* Consider, that 266,495 emigrants have landed in the Port of New York alone within the last six years. Alas ! alas ! would that there had been priests in proportion ! *Rogate, rogare Dominum messis.* Advance and encourage by every means in your power the missions of the United States, the most important of all ; now is the *crisis*, after which they are to rise or fall ; a second Europe is to be converted, the Church to be planted *nunc vel nunquam*. I am summoned elsewhere ; pray for

"SIMON BRUTÉ, bishop of Vincennes.

"Washington (Indiana) 21st July, 1837."

Missouri.—This mission has suffered an irreparable loss by the death of the Rev. Father Quickenborne, S. J. He was born near Ghent in 1788 ; he entered the Society of Jesus in 1814, and was sent to America in 1817. His success in converting the Osages, and forming that infant mission, induced Monsignor Dubourg, the bishop of Louisiana, to entrust the whole district of the Missouri to him. He established the order of the Sacred Heart at St. Louis and St. Charles, where he likewise built a beautiful church of stone. He was the founder of the Catholic University of St. Louis, which, at present, contains forty-three members of the society. During the month of August, he fell sick on his way to visit a newly-converted parish ; and, on his arrival at Portage, he was obliged to confine himself to his bed. In the middle of the night, word was brought him, that one of the flock was at the point of death. As no other priest was at hand, the heroic missionary caused himself to be conveyed to the sick man's bed-side, heard his confession, and administered the sacrament of extreme unction. When conveyed home, he found that his end was approaching ; all his thoughts and affections were instantly turned towards heaven, his devotion showed itself in the most ardent prayers and aspirations. He had been twenty years a missionary in America, during which time he created the principal religious establishments in the Missouri, and undertook immense labours for the glory of God. He had visited the Osages three times, and several times travelled over the vast territory north-west of the Missouri, raising churches, and labouring with his own hands in building them. In the midst of his greatest labours, his favourite exclamation was ; "*how sweet it is to labour in company with the angels, for the salvation and happiness of men.*"

NOVA SCOTIA.—This island, with Cape Breton and some other small islands, forms one district, under the Right Rev. Dr. Frazer. The population of Nova Scotia is about 150,000 ; that of Cape Breton, 14,000. The number of Catholics reaches 60,000. The Indians scarcely amount to 1,400, they are scattered, and have four or five chapels ; the chief one is in a small island near Cape Breton. His lordship has eighteen priests, who are obliged to travel constantly from place to place, over a wild rough country, carrying with them a missal, chalice, altar-stone, and ornaments. They subsist wholly on the voluntary contributions of the faithful, many of whom are too poor to pay the usual contribution of four crowns. The Society for Propagating the Faith, furnishes the bishop with the means of supplying the ornaments necessary for the altar, and

of keeping a few students at the Propaganda College in Rome, and in the seminaries of Quebec and Charlestown. This society has just sent out two missionaries to Siam, which has lately been increasing in importance, and now contains several new missions. Father Smet, S. J., who had been obliged to return to Europe on account of bad health, embarked in October at Havre, in company with five young men, received as novices of the society in America, and M. Parg, a priest of the diocese of Bardstown, who was anxious to return to that mission, even without waiting for his bishop, Monsignor Flaget, whose return has been delayed by different circumstances.

AFRICA—*Algiers*. Five sisters of St. Joseph opened in 1835 an hospital for cholera patients at Algiers; their work is now considerably enlarged, one hundred sick persons are gratuitously relieved; and two hundred girls receive instruction,—amongst them are admitted forty or fifty Jewish girls, and one or two Moorish families have sent their children to their school. An additional supply of sisters of the order, with a priest at their head, has sailed for the same city.

ASIA.—The Emperor of Cochinchina, Minch Hang, as we learn from a letter from India, published in the beginning of 1836 a decree against Christianity, containing the severest penalties against its professors, and ordering every family to be put to death that shall harbour any European. The governor of the town is to share their punishment; and the mandarin of the province is to suffer the bastinado, and to be degraded. European vessels are to trade only at Tourana; the mandarin is to take a list of the crew and passengers on their arrival, and compare them at their departure; escorting the vessel out of the port, that none may return to land. Every European found on shore is to be put to death. Chinese ships may trade at all the ports, but they are to be strictly searched.

EXTRACTS from an Article contained in the 58th Number of the "Annals of the Society for THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH," published at Lyons, for May 1838.

The Article commences with the following Account Current for 1837:—"The hopes which we expressed in presenting the account for 1836, have not been disappointed: Heaven has blessed our efforts, and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith has again received, during the past year, considerable accessions of strength.

The Council of Paris has received:		fr.	c.	} 457,762 59
From France and her Colonies	.	393,632	46	
From Belgium	.	61,458	34	
From England	.	2,384	55	
From Holland	.	227	24	
From Portugal	.	60	0	

The Council of Lyons has received:		.	
From France and her Colonies	.	39,976	56
From Switzerland	.	17,858	65
From Savoy	.	14,790	60
From Piedmont	.	12,356	97
From Italy	.	17,025	89
From Germany	.	6,335	99

From Russia	584	6
From the Levant	793	5
In all	469,541	77
Amount of receipts	927,304	36
Surplus in hand	408	57
TOTAL	927,712	93

"The distribution of the funds among the various missions has been decreed as follows:

"To the Seminary of the Missions Etrangères, in the Rue de Bac, a sum of 165,341 francs, for the following missions:

Corea	16,900
Fo-Kien, in China	1,620
Su-Tchuen, Yu-Nan, and Kouï-Tcheou, in the empire of China	17,320
West Tong-King	34,211
Cochin China, Camboge, and Laos	32,110
Siam, and the kingdom of Quêda	19,440
The Malabars	20,250
The Seminary of Pulo-Pinang	5,670
For the extraordinary expenses of commission of Macao	17,820

TOTAL . 165,341

To the Lazaristes, a sum of 84,400 francs for the following Missions:

Constantinople, colleges and mission	8,400
The mission and college of Smyrna	5,040
Mission at Naxia	1,680
Mission at Santorin	840
Mission at Salonica	1,680
Mission at Aleppo	4,200
Mission and school at Damascus	3,360
Mission and colleges at Antoura	6,720
Mission of Tripoli, Sgorta, and Eden	1,680
Mission of Macao, and the novitiate of the Chinese	12,900
For the little seminary of Mongolie, in Tartary	8,500
For the mission of Nanking	4,200
That of Kiang-Si	7,560
That of Hou-Quang	9,240
Travelling expenses of two Missionaries	8,400

TOTAL . 84,400

For the following missions of the Society of Jesus, a sum of 48,000 francs:

Maryland	16,800
The Missouri	12,000
Kentucky and New Orleans	7,200

Madeira	.	.	.	.	.	4,800
Syria	.	.	.	.	.	2,400
Mount Libanus and Chaldea	.	.	.	.	.	4,800

TOTAL . 48,000

To Monsignor Rouhouse, bishop of Nilopolis, vicar apostolic of the Western Pacific	.	.	.	.	.	43,671	0
To Mgr. Pompallier, bishop of Maronea, vicar apostolic of the Eastern Pacific	.	.	.	.	.	33,200	0
To Mgr. Cao, bishop of Zama, vicar apostolic of Ava & Pegu	.	.	.	.	.	3,000	0
To Mgr. Pessoni, bishop of Esbona, vicar apostolic of Thibet and Hindostan	.	.	.	.	.	4,500	0
To Mgr. de Sainte Anne, bishop of Amata, vicar apostolic of Verapolis (East Indies)	.	.	.	.	.	4,500	0
To Mgr. Abbucarim, bishop of Alia, vicar apostolic of the Egyptian Copts	.	.	.	.	.	3,000	0
For the mission of Tripoli, in Barbary	.	.	.	.	.	1,500	0
For the mission at Tunis	.	.	.	.	.	1,500	0
To Mgr. Talbas, Syrian Catholic archbishop of Mardin	.	.	.	.	.	1,500	0
To Mgr. Bonamie, archbishop of Smyrna	.	.	.	.	.	9,000	0
To Mgr. Hillereau, vicar apostolic, patriarch of Constantinople	.	.	.	.	.	6,000	0
To Mgr. Blancis, bishop of Syra, vicar apostolic of Greece	.	.	.	.	.	6,000	0
To Mgr. Fleming, bishop of Carparia, vicar apostolic of Newfoundland and Labrador	.	.	.	.	.	9,672	40
To Mgr. Fraser, bp. of Tanen, vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia	.	.	.	.	.	9,000	0
To Mgr. Provencher, bishop of Juliopolis, for the mission of Hudson's Bay	.	.	.	.	.	9,000	0
To Mgr. Eccleston, archbishop of Baltimore	.	.	.	.	.	3,000	0
To Mgr. Flaget, bishop of Bardstown	.	.	.	.	.	21,856	80
To Mgr. Purcell, bishop of Cincinnati	.	.	.	.	.	18,000	0
To Mgr. Rezé, bishop of Detroit	.	.	.	.	.	9,545	50
To Mgr. Bruté, bishop of Vincennes	.	.	.	.	.	27,000	0
To Mgr. Rosati, bishop of St. Louis	.	.	.	.	.	18,000	0
To Mgr. Portier, bishop of Mobile	.	.	.	.	.	2,180	0
To Mgr. Blanc, bishop of New Orleans	.	.	.	.	.	15,000	0
To Mgr. England, bishop of Charlestown	.	.	.	.	.	6,000	0
To Mgr. Dubois, bishop of New York	.	.	.	.	.	15,000	0
To Mgr. Kenrick, administrator of the diocese of Philadelphia	.	.	.	.	.	6,000	0
To Mgr. Fenwick, bishop of Boston	.	.	.	.	.	12,000	0
To Mgr. Macdonald, bishop of Olympus, vicar apostolic of the English Antillas	.	.	.	.	.	10,500	0
For the missions of Guiana	.	.	.	.	.	6,000	0
To Mgr. Polding, vicar apostolic of Australasia	.	.	.	.	.	15,000	0
Charges for printing, and other incidental expenses	.	.	.	.	.	72,745	37
Surplus in hand	.	.	.	.	.	227,100	86

SUM TOTAL . 927,712 93

The article, after communicating a great mass of the most interesting information, and, in particular, warm recommendations of the Society from several of the bishops of the continent of Europe, concludes with the following remarkable words: "It would be idle in us to attempt to add anything to such numerous and pressing recommendations. What effect could our words produce, after what has been said by those to whom it has been given to govern the Church of God? Still, in order to crown this splendid mass of exhortation and panegyric with a fitting conclusion, we will confine ourselves simply to recalling the words of the Supreme Head of the whole Church, repeating what he was pleased lately to communicate to a holy bishop, and many other persons, with an express injunction to convey the intelligence to us: 'THAT THIS SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH IS, IN THE MIDST OF THE AFFLICTIONS THAT OPPRESS HIM, THE CONSOLATION RESERVED TO HIS HEART; THAT ITS SUCCESSES ARE HIS JOY, AND THAT HE COUNTS ON THE MEMBERS OF THIS ASSOCIATION FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE MISSIONS.' We hasten to enable all the subscribers to participate in this precious testimony of the satisfaction felt by the common father of the faithful, confident that they will find in it, as we do, new motives to redouble their zeal, and to increase more and more the fruits of their charity."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

On Education and Self-formation, based upon Physical, Intellectual, Moral, and Religious Principles—from the German of Dr. J. C. A. Heinroth—Schloss, 1838.—Of this work a part only relates to Education in the ordinary sense of the word—the concluding chapters treat of the 'self-formation' of the grown-up individual, the proper exercise of the will, and the view that he should take of his position, as a moral, social, and accountable being. We can sincerely recommend this treatise to our readers, but particularly that portion of it which relates to education; the author goes into no details—does not attempt to lay down any *system*; he divides youth into three periods: "Infancy, including the period of play; the period of learning; and the preliminary period of development; during which, the preparation for, and entrance into maturity takes place—p. 69." Taking the clearest and most elevated view of the great object of Education, he proceeds to point out the end to be attained, and the direction to be given to the child during each of these periods, and lays down general principles and rules of action, so universal in their application, so admirable in the knowledge they indicate of human nature and of its characteristics in childhood, and above all so wise and christian in the place they assign to religion as the main spring of the character, that we think none who are concerned in the training of youth, can fail to receive valuable instruction, and to find food for their own reflections, in the profound thoughts of the author. The latter part of the work,

where man is considered as a free agent, treats chiefly of religion, and the place which it ought to occupy in his heart and conduct. As the learned author is a Protestant, it necessarily happens that he entertains many erroneous opinions, and has failed to avoid that indecision of ideas, and coldness of feeling, which a Catholic will detect in the writings even of the most amiable of those who dissent from the true religion: but it contains much that is admirable, and we find no sectarian bitterness that could give offence, or prevent our cordially recommending it to general perusal.

The Catholic Mission in Australasia: by W. Ullathorne, D.D. Keating and Brown, 1838.—This pamphlet we would gladly see in the hands of every Catholic family in the Country; the sacred cause it advocates, the immense regions into whose social and spiritual condition it affords us an insight, and the ability of the reverend Author in doing justice to his subject, combine to give it an indescribable interest; and independant of all higher considerations, it contains much curious general information. Dr. Ullathorne tells us, that for five years he has conversed, and almost lived, with the convict. "I have often received him on his arrival in New South Wales: I have thrice visited him in Van Dieman's Land; I have attended him in his barracks; I have followed him through every district of the country to his place of assignment; I have collected him from the ploughing oxen in the fields—from the sheep wandering in their vast tracts—and from the wild cattle in their distant runs. I have been familiar with him in every township, and on every highway; I have celebrated the mysterious rites of our religion in the bark hut, beneath the gum tree in the valley, and on the blue mountain's top, which the white cloud covers. The daughter of crime has burdened my ear with her tale of folly and of woe; the dark-faced man has come to me, in his dress of shame and clanking fetters, from the degraded iron-gang; the sentenced criminal has wrung my heart, filling my eyes, in the cell of death. I have twice sailed with him to that last region on earth of crime and despair, Norfolk Island. He has confided himself to me like a brother to an afflicted brother, and has poured his whole soul into my breast." Truly deplorable are the descriptions which follow of the state of these unhappy creatures, their degradation, going on from bad to worse, their misery, and their hopelessness; and how divine does religion appear, how intense is our feeling of its truth, when we see it reach, and penetrate, the heart of man, even in this hardened state; and awakening the vital principle within him, enable him to break the strongest bonds of Satan, and regain in his soul the lost image of his Creator; that such have been its blessed effects, where it has found access, Dr. Ullathorne proves by various instances, some of which we cannot refrain from quoting:—"In 1834, a conspiracy was formed by the prisoners to destroy the military and seize the island. They were defeated, and thirty-one of their number condemned to death. In 1835, I sailed to the island to prepare such of them as might be Catholic to meet their end. My unexpected appearance, late on the night of my arrival, came on them like a vision. I found them crowded in three cells, so small as barely

to allow their lying down together—their upper garments thrown off for a little coolness. They had for six months been looking for their fate. I had to announce life to all but thirteen—to these, death. A few words of preparation, and then their fate. Those who were to live wept bitterly; whilst those doomed to die, without exception, dropped on their knees, and, with dry eyes, thanked God they were to be delivered from so horrid a place. Who can describe our emotions? I found only three of the condemned to be Catholic—four others wished me to take them also to my care. During the five days permitted for preparation, they manifested extraordinary fervour of repentance. The morning come, they received on their knees the sentence as the will of God. Loosened from their chains, they fell down in the dust, and, in the warmth of their gratitude, kissed the very feet that had brought them peace. Their death moved many of their comrades. On the two successive days of execution and burial, I preached, from the graves of the dead, to their former associates. During the week still allowed before the departure of the ship, twenty conversions followed, and one hundred and fifty general confessions. I left books behind me before departure, arranged a form of prayer for their use on Sunday, and obtained the appointment of one as reader, whose duty also it should be to teach those to read who were unable, in the intervals between labour and food.

“At the close of 1836, my good Bishop permitted me again to visit Norfolk Island,—a duty I had much at heart. I was received with great joy by my poor penitents, who, through all sorts of ridicule and persecution from their comrades, had persevered in their resolutions. I admitted them to the holy communion. Nearly sixty had learned to read their prayer books. The Commandant assured me that crime had considerably diminished, and that the Catholics were remarkably attentive to their duties of religion. Let me not forget how much of this was owing to the prudence and solicitude of the Commandant himself. I record the name of Major Anderson with unmingled satisfaction. His minute personal knowledge of the desperate men under his charge, and the discrimination with which he encourages the well disposed, whilst he strikes terror into the obstinate, has been attended with most salutary consequences. What was my delight to find that, for the fifteen months elapsed since my last visit, there was not one Catholic to be brought before the judge. During the fifteen days allowed me before our return, three hundred confessions, and twelve conversions, rewarded my labours. I saw these dreaded characters come to the arms of religion like children. What may she not do with men when every hope from this world is departed, and nothing appears on their path but sufferings? The penitents, now become the greater number of Catholics, begged to be locked up in separate wards from the rest, that they might say their morning and night prayers together. Except these two visits, no priest has been at Norfolk Island. Since my arrival in England, I have received a letter from one of these poor prisoners, who consoles me in these terms:—

“REV. SIR,—Aware that your insignia is ‘*Non ignarus mali, miseriis*

succurere disco, therefore I feel no hesitation in writing. I rejoice to have to inform you that of the many who received your instructions, there are none, I am aware of, returned to their former wickedness; but notwithstanding the many enemies they have to encounter, the many instruments employed by Satan to debar them from those duties due to their Creator, they have withstood all. I have also to inform you that in addition to the number which seemed to be zealous heretofore, there are three times that number at present. They are all desirous to learn, to be instructed, and earnestly look for books; even those who have not attended you during that happy time you have been with us, want books. The wicked are constantly endeavouring to bring back to their former vice, those in whom they perceive any conversion. We earnestly request you will not be long *absent* from us. The constant prayers of your most humble but unfortunate servant,

ROBERT HEPBURN.

Who can read this passage and contrast it with the foregoing frightful picture of the state from which these men were raised to become Christian penitents, and not feel his heart throb with emotion, at the fervid appeal with which Dr. Ullathorne concludes his address. "We have given ourselves—we have nothing left; we call on you for help. If, in your love of God, you would see banished from before his face this army of crime, which offends him—help us. If, in your charity, you look out for the poorest objects, if those most lost, if those who have least aid within themselves—help us. If you would descend to the deepest miseries, and carry down there the most blessed good, and pour it out to the greatest number of the unhappy—assist us. If you would aspire to a godlike work, if to emulate the perfection of that Eternal Father, whose work is the creation of good, and the diffusion of light through the places of darkness, and the preparation of enjoyment, co-operate with him in the divinest of all his divine works, the salvation of the fallen—help us.

If you would be associated in the redemption of Christ, who came down with sacrifice to deliver *us* when heathens, and preached to the souls in prison—help us. If to share in the merits of our apostleship without the toil, and in our blessed consolations without the sacrifice—if to combine the works of mercy spiritual with those corporal, and present them in one act to Christ—help us. If to these despairing thousands you would be as the visible providence of God—if at that last dread day you would hear their appealing voices on your behalf, '*The Lord sent this his angel, who delivered me out of prison*'—if, in that great hour, you would hear from the Eternal Son the decision of your election, '*I was in prison and ye come unto me*'—if you would snatch from perdition these souls, wash them in the blood of the cross, and place them, as celestial rubies, in your own immortal crown—bring to us help." May this appeal be heard!

In another point of view this mission is of immense importance; New Zealand is included in the vast diocese of our Australasian Bishop—and this most interesting country seems even to invite Christianity. Dr. Ullathorne tells us, that shortly after the arrival of the Bishop in

Sydney, two of the children of chiefs, a young man, and woman, were sent to him by their countrymen expressly to hear of the Catholic religion; they were instructed, baptised, and returned to their country, where such an impression was made by their account of all that they had seen and heard, that great interest was awakened, and one chief sent a message to the Bishop, requesting to receive instruction and baptism. Moreover, in the success of this mission, lies the chief hope of civilizing the natives of this vast country, and saving them from the fate of so many of the Aborigines, who have come into contact with Europeans—vice, wretchedness, and, finally, extirpation. Already is this deplorable course in progress.

"These poor creatures have often been treated by the convicts, at the out stations, with atrocious barbarity; who have even been known to shoot them, as game for sport. From these they have acquired our language in its most degraded dialect. From these they have been initiated into more than our worst vices. Their women have been shockingly treated. Where the European population is thickest, they are fast dying off. The tribe nearest Sydney has no longer more than five or six persons, and not one child to succeed their fathers. The tribes of Van Dieman's Land are nearly extinct; there do not remain more than 150 souls, and these are now placed on an island in Bass's Straits, and supported by government. This extermination of nearly a whole race has been the work of twenty years."

Dr. Ullathorne regrets that these poor creatures have, as yet, been totally unattended to, the more pressing claims of the unhappy convicts having required all, and more than all, that the means of the mission could supply. In an article in our last number, we advocated the 'Society for propagating the Catholic Faith,' established at Lyons,* and as an evidence of the spirit which animates the Society, our readers will rejoice to hear that when Dr. Ullathorne represented that Government would contribute to the maintenance of a certain number of Priests, but that he had not the means to carry them to the mission, he at once received from the Society a supply of several hundred pounds towards this most desirable object.

Recollections of a Convert, or a relation of her conversion, with a few verses at different periods, collected first as a New Year's offering to her Convent friends—Keating & Brown, 1838.—This little work is written with great simplicity and earnestness, and in a strain of enthusiasm, which appears to have been nursed in Conventual seclusion; the Authoress, who is a relative of the Hon. and Rev. G. Spencer, delights to consider herself an especial favourite of Heaven, and to dwell upon the workings of her own mind, and the influence of grace upon her heart. There is nothing in the work to interest the general reader: the verses are below mediocrity, and the incidents of her life are few and of a kind which are ordinary with those who, to use her own words, have received "that greatest of all graces, to come from the bosom of a Protestant family to the knowledge of the true Church;" p. 33. Yet this short story will be read with pleasure and edification, by those who,

* See the powerful appeal of the Holy Father, *ant.* p. 273.

like the holy souls for whom it was at first intended, can sympathize with the genuine and fervent feelings of a truly Christian heart.

Celestial Scenery, by T. Dick, LL.D.—Ward & Co. 1838.—This work, with a very fanciful title and much that is fanciful in its ideas, contains valuable and interesting information. Its object is "to shew that the arguments which may be brought forward to establish the doctrine of a plurality of worlds, have all the force of a *moral demonstration*—that they throw a lustre on the perfections of the Divinity, and that the opposite opinion is utterly inconsistent with every idea we ought to entertain of an all-wise and Omnipotent Intelligence."—p. 7. We have not space to follow the arguments, but the facts by which they are supported are arranged in a manner most likely to attract and interest all popular readers.

Observations on the use and abuse of the sacred Scriptures: by Dr. Ullathorne. Keating & Brown, 1838.

Transubstantiation, &c. a Letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord —, in reply to certain Enquiries. By the Rev. John Fletcher, D.D. Keating and Brown, 1836.—We are obliged, for want of space, to content ourselves with saying that these treatises well maintain the reputation of their distinguished authors.

Essays on Natural History, chiefly Ornithology, by Chas. Waterton, Esq. author of *Wanderings in South America*; with an *Autobiography of the Author*, and a *View of Walton Hall*. Longman & Co. 1838. Accident has prevented us from giving a lengthened notice of this delightful work. We have however seen enough to warrant the strongest recommendation of it, and particularly the very lively and amusing autobiography. We hope to have an article on both Mr. Waterton's works in an early number.

The Université Catholique for March 1838, contains, 1. Course of Social Economy (9th lecture), by M. de Coux.—2. Course of Political Economy (continuation of the 14th lecture), by M. de Villeneuve Bargemont.—3. Course of Astronomy (6th lecture), by M. Desdouts. Method of fixing the position of places on the earth's surface—geographical longitude, latitude, and altitude—different methods employed for their determination, as well on sea as on land—the spherical form of the earth considered with respect to its effect on the methods of computing time—the antipodes—historical digression on this subject—the earth's form considered as resulting from the rotatory movement and the centrifugal force—singular agreement of this theory with the first verses of Genesis.—4. Review of the situation of the Prussian Government with respect to its Catholic Subjects (continuation and end).—5. Religion in Modern Societies, by M. Guizot.—6. The History of the Middle Ages, from the Fall of the Western Empire to the Death of Charlemagne, by J. Moeller.—7. Elements of Astronomy, made applicable to Geography, by M. P. M. Perdrau.—8. Notices of New Books.

The Number for April 1838, contains, 1. Course upon the History of Political Economy (15th lecture), by M. de Villeneuve-Bargemont. Upon the political economy of France and Europe since the restoration—Revolution of 1830—Saint Simonians—the Fourieristes.—2. The Monumental History of the Early Christians (12th lecture), by M.

Cyprien Robert.—3. History of Christian Poetry (3rd lecture), by M. Douhaire.—4. Review—Lacordaire's Letter upon the Holy See, by M. Chernel—Philosophical and Literary Letters upon MM. de la Mennais, Lerminier, and Georges Sand (1st letter), by M. Léon Boré—Universal Truth, serving as an introduction to the Philosophy of the Word, H. de Lourdoneix, by the Baron Guiraud—Literature of Italy (2nd article), by Eugène de la Gournerie—An Enquiry into the state of Protestantism in England.—5. Notices of Books.

The Number for May contains, 1. Course on the History of Political Economy (15th lecture continued).—2. Course of Astronomy (7th lecture), by M. Desdouts.—3. The 10th lecture on Religious and Profane Music, by M. d'Ortigue.—4. Review—On the Blessings of the Earth, by H. M.—On French Prisons (4th article), by M. Lamache—Remarks on the mode of ascertaining the period of the ancient Egyptian Year.—5. Notices of Books.

The *Annals of Christian Philosophy* for March 1838, contain, 1. Manual of the History of the Middle Age, by Moeller.—2. J. Voigt's History of Pope Gregory VII and his Age (2nd article), by Audley.—3. Marvellous Instincts of Insects (2nd article).—4. Filon's History of Europe to the Sixteenth Century, by Barthelemy de Las Casas, and the Indians.—5. De Matrimonio, Operâ et Studio J. Carriere.—6. History of the Mother of God, completed from the Traditions of the East, the Writings of the Fathers, and the Manners of the Hebrews, by the Abbé Orsini.—7. The Domestic Circle, by the Princess de Craon.—8. Notices of Books.

The Number for April contains, 1. Diplomatic Dictionary, or Philological and Historical Account of Civil and Ecclesiastical Antiquities (8th article), by Bonnetty.—2. Treatise upon the Ecclesiastical Property of the Abbé Affre, Vicar-General of Paris, by M. de Villeneuve-Bargemont.—3. Hurter's History of Pope Innocent III and his contemporaries, by Erlinger.—4. Analysis of an inedited work of P. Prémare's upon the Vestiges of Christian Dogmas to be found in Chinese Books (4th article), A. Bonnetty.—5. Notices of Books.

The Number for May contains, 1. Translation into French of the Evangelical Preparation of Eusebius of Cesarea, with Notes by Ségnier.—2. An Account of Darius the Mede, and Balthasar, King of Babylon, by M. E. Quatremère.—3. An Atheist converted to Christianity, to the Believer and the Infidel, posthumous work of M. Delauro Dubez.—4. Analysis of an unpublished work by P. Prémare, on the traces of Christian Dogmas in Chinese Works (5th article).—5. The Fall of an Angel, by Lamartine.—6. Notices of Books.

ERRATA.

- Page 81, line 12, for "Ginghené," read *Ginguené*.
 82, line 3 from bottom, for "Eremeland," read *Culm*.
 83, line 4 from bottom, for "Wirtemburg," read *Wittenberg*.
 94, line 1, for "s'intrè," read *s'entri*.
 94, line 2, for "sie," read *si è*.
 104, line 7, for "insect," read *fishery*.

CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

WE have great pleasure in announcing that this undertaking is assuming a definite and substantial form. Under the patronage of our Bishops and Clergy, and of its distinguished President and Vice-Presidents, the labours of its Committee cannot fail, we trust, to be crowned with success. Considerable subscriptions have been received, and before our next Number appears, we hope the Institute will be in active operation. We subjoin the Resolutions and Address put forward by the Committee, together with a Letter received by them from our venerable Vicars Apostolic.

Resolutions passed at Meetings held for the purpose of organizing a Catholic Institute.

1. That a CATHOLIC INSTITUTE be formed, for the under-mentioned purposes, which have been sanctioned by the Vicars Apostolic.
2. That all the Catholic Prelates of Great Britain shall be members of the Institute, without any contribution save what they may voluntarily choose to give.
3. That all the Catholic Priests in Great Britain, having faculties or approved of, be also members of the Institute upon the same terms.
4. That every individual of the Catholic Faith, who shall contribute not less than six shillings by the year, or six pence by the month, shall be a member; and shall continue to be a member so long as such contribution shall be paid.
5. That the objects of the Institute shall be confined to the exposure of the falsehood of the calumnious charges made against the Catholic religion, to the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity, to the circulation of all useful knowledge upon the above-mentioned subjects; and to the protection of the poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles and practices.
6. That the affairs of the Institute shall be under the management of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and Secretary, to be elected as hereinafter mentioned, and of a Committee to be constituted as hereinafter mentioned.
7. That the Right Honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury be President of the Institute.
8. That all Catholic Peers, and Members of Parliament, contributors to the Institute, be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents, if, upon application to them, they will accept such office; and that there be twelve Vice-Presidents, to be elected by the Committee.
9. That the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Secretary, shall be *ex officio* members of the Committee; and that in addition to them, the Committee shall consist of all the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of Great Britain,

members of the Institute, of such Peers and Members of Parliament as may contribute to the funds of the Institute, and of Twenty-one Laymen (to be elected as hereinafter mentioned), with power to increase that number to any number not exceeding fifty.

10. That an Annual Meeting of the members shall be held in London on the second Wednesday in the month of May, at which the Secretary and Twenty-one Lay Members of the Committee shall be elected; and that at such meeting an account of the funds and of the proceedings of the Institute, its condition and prospects, shall be laid before the members, and that the discussion at such meeting shall be limited to the foregoing objects.

11. That the funds of the Institute shall be applied by the Committee in providing a suitable place of meeting, and in recompensing the Secretary, and such officers as they may consider to be necessary for the purpose of conducting the affairs and keeping the accounts of the Institute; and that a farther portion of the funds shall be applied in printing and circulating such publications as, having the previous sanction of a clergyman duly authorized by the Vicar Apostolic of the London district, may be deemed most useful to obviate calumny, to explain Catholic tenets, and defend the purity and truth of Catholic doctrines, and circulate useful information on these subjects.

12. That the Committee shall also undertake the examination of all cases of religious oppression or deprivation of rights of conscience of the poorer and less protected classes of Catholics, under any circumstances.

13. That the Committee shall be authorized to appoint sub-committees, of not less than five members, out of their own body, for any purposes of the Institute; and also to organize local committees, and to solicit and avail themselves of the co-operation of individuals in different parts of Great Britain and the Colonies.

14. That all questions, whether in Committee or at meetings, shall be decided by a majority of votes, the Chairman having a casting vote in cases of equality; and that five members shall constitute a quorum of the Committee.

15. That Mr. Henry Robinson be appointed Treasurer to the Institute.

16. That Mr. James Smith be appointed Secretary to the Institute.

THE COMMITTEE of the CATHOLIC INSTITUTE consider it to be their first duty to make known to their Fellow-Catholics, throughout Great Britain, the design and objects of that Institution, and to solicit their earnest and zealous co-operation. To this end, therefore, they propose to circulate, as widely as possible, the fundamental articles upon which it has been founded. From these may be collected as well the objects of the Institute, as the system on which it is intended to give them practical effect. They are essentially the vindication of our holy religion from the calumnious defamation of modern adversaries, and the protection of its poorer and more defenceless adherents from oppression for conscience sake.

In the discussions preliminary to the Establishment of the Institute, it was suggested, that as it could not be doubted that such an association would receive the general concurrence and support of the entire body of British Catholics, it might be placed on a more enlarged basis, and embrace other objects of great utility. After much consideration,

however, it was determined to confine it *strictly* to its present purposes. The motive to this resolution, was a desire to secure that unanimity and concentration in the Catholic body which seemed indispensable to the success of the undertaking, by the selection of such objects only of undoubted importance as appeared to be beyond the possibility of objection.

As a large step towards the general approbation of their Catholic countrymen, the Committee are happy to announce that the Institute has already received the high sanction of every Vicar Apostolic in England and Scotland, and that numerous accessions from the general body of the Clergy, including some of the most eminent amongst them, for piety and learning, afford good ground to hope for the general co-operation of that venerable class of our Community.

British Catholics have been frequently taunted by their adversaries, and sometimes reproached even by their friends, for want of concert in the pursuit of their common interests. Indeed, the alleged experience of the past has suggested in some quarters the apprehension that *this* institution may, by the same cause, be limited in its exertions, if not in its very existence. The Committee, however, without discussing the question whether the charge as respects the past be groundless, or well founded, feel confident that on the present occasion, there is no cause for such apprehension. Between this and all former associations, a wide and obvious difference exists. Those were formed under the influence of severe and actual oppression, and whilst the body at large was stamped by the law with the marks of inferiority and degradation. Moreover the object of such associations was of partial, and in some degree exclusive, interest, being the recovery of secular privileges which from their very nature must be unequal in their distribution.

Happily, here the circumstances and objects are wholly different. Catholics have been for many years restored to political equality: we have freely mixed with our fellow-countrymen, in the transaction of public affairs, and may now assume the tone, and exercise the rights of freemen without challenge or exception, and it is not conceivable that the objects contemplated can contain any elements of disunion. They regard not matters of temporal or secular interest. They aim at higher ends; at ends in which every member of our community, however high or low may be his rank or station, has a common and equal concern, namely, the glory of God and the good of our neighbour.

It is notorious that the most vigorous efforts are daily made to check the progress of our holy religion. Argument, conducted fairly and candidly, Catholics would rather court than discountenance, knowing that ultimately it must assist more than retard the advancement of truth. But many have recourse to other weapons. They pervert our tenets, misrepresent our religious observances, and calumniate without scruple the characters of some of the purest amongst the professors of our creed, without regard to sex or station. Silence and supineness under such circumstances would be unjust to our fellow christians of other denominations. They might reasonably believe, that charges thus boldly made,

were passed over only because they could not be contradicted: and we should consequently become indirect but efficient agents in the delusion.

If the objects of the Institute are in themselves laudable, or free from reasonable objection, the mode in which it is proposed to effect them, will be not less so. For it is intended ever to keep carefully in remembrance, that the maintenance of Truth is the *sole* design and end of this incorporation. Thus, while its members will feel themselves called upon to promote through the proper channel, the prompt and vigorous refutation and exposure of the misrepresentations and calumnies complained of, so that the antidote may closely follow and neutralize the poison, they will sedulously avoid the course which they condemn in others, as being plainly inconsistent with that sacred purpose.—Virulence, harshness, and irritation, are the usual accompaniments, and indeed indications of error. The calm dignity of truth disclaims their support. Its appropriate and powerful arms are moderation and charity, which are nevertheless perfectly compatible with energy and active utility.

It is then to an undertaking, formed for carrying out objects which must be dear to every Catholic, in a temperate and Christianlike spirit, that the Committee of the Institute earnestly invite the attention and support of their Catholic countrymen, and they confidently hope that the appeal will not be in vain.

CHARLES LANGDALE,

Chairman of the Committee.

3, Crosby Row, Walworth Road,
London, July 26th, 1838.

SIR,—By the direction of the Committee of the Catholic Institute, I beg to call your attention to the accompanying Resolutions and Address, and to inform you, that the following Noblemen and Gentlemen have consented to become Vice-Presidents of the Institute:—

THE EARL OF NEWBURGH

LORD CLIFFORD

LORD LOVAT

THE HON. CHARLES LANGDALE, M. P.

SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD, BART.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. M. P.

PHILIP H. HOWARD, Esq. M. P.

A. H. LYNCH, Esq. M. P.

CHARLES TOWNELEY, Esq.

WM. CONSTABLE MAXWELL, Esq.

JOHN MENZIES, Esq. (Pitfodels)

WM. LAWSON, Esq. (Brough Hall)

AMBROSE L. PHILLIPPS, Esq.

PHILIP JONES, Esq.

JAMES WHEBLE, Esq.

ROBERT BERKELEY, Esq.

Answers have not yet been received from several other gentlemen who have been applied to. Subscriptions and contributions may be forwarded to the Treasurer, at the Bank of Messrs. Wright & Co. 6, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, or to the Secretary.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES SMITH, *Secretary.*

Letter of the English Vicars Apostolic in reference to the Institute.

HON. AND DEAR SIR,

York, May 12, 1838.

In the month of March, you did each of us, the Vicars Apostolic in England, the honour of transmitting a copy of a letter signed by you as Chairman of the preparatory meeting of the Catholic Institute of Great Britain. The letter submits to our consideration a plan for the formation of this Society, and specifies also the objects and the means of the proposed Catholic Institute.

At the time, we merely acknowledged the receipt of your much-valued communication, and deferred expressing our sentiments on its important contents, until we should meet and confer together on the subject. Having now given to every part of your letter our very serious consideration, we hasten to say that we rejoice much to see the zeal that is manifested in your proposed undertaking, and that we confidently trust much good will result from its efforts. We fully agree with you, that prejudice and bigotry are awakened and increased by the means to which your letter refers, and we think it high time that there should be a General Association among us to oppose the efforts of these promoters of bigotry. We are, at the same time, anxious that our good and holy cause should be defended in a dignified manner; and that, in the tracts and other publications which shall issue from our press, there should be nothing low or violent. To prevent this evil arising, as also to secure the orthodoxy and sound morality of these tracts and other publications, we deem it necessary that they shall all be submitted to the inspection of an Ecclesiastic, who shall be named by the Vicar Apostolic of London.

We beg leave furthermore respectfully to state, that we see many objections to a part of the Fund of the Catholic Institute being applied to the erection of Chapels, as mentioned in No. II of your letter. We think the work of erecting Chapels is too intricate and various, to be successfully managed by a General Committee.

The other proposed objects of the Catholic Institute may, we think, be better attained by a general co-operation and a General Committee; and for the attainment of them, we have much pleasure in giving our united and cordial sanction, and shall be happy, at all times, to lend all the assistance in our power.

Hon. and dear Sir,

With sincere esteem and much respect,

We have the honour to be,

Your humble and faithful Servants,

+ P. A. BAINES, Vic. Ap. West. Dis.

+ T. C. WALSH, Vic. Ap. Mid. Dis.

+ J. BRIGGS, Vic. Ap. North. Dis.

+ T. GRIFFITHS, Vic. Ap. London Dis.

The Hon Charles Langdale, M.P.

31, Jermyn Street, London.

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